

School of Oriental and African Studies

THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE
AND INDUSTRIAL WELFARE
IN CHINA, 1920-1941

by

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ABSTRACT

" The birth of modern industry [in China] introduced a new factor into urban life in the form of the emergent industrial working population, whose conditions of life and labour equalled in squalor anything known during the worst phases of the industrial revolution in the West. A dawning awareness of the need to meet this new problem if Christianity were to have any profound influence on China, coupled with anxiety over the threat posed to the social equilibrium by strikes and other industrial disorders, moved certain Christian agencies in the early 'twenties to take a more active interest in the plight of urban workers.

The Christian organisations principally responsible for industrial welfare work in China in the nineteen-twenties and 'thirties were the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, and the National Christian Council of China, representing the various Protestant Churches. The work in this sphere of each of these agencies is dealt with in turn, though there are many points at which it overlapped. The activity of Christian reformers drew the attention of the International Labour Office to China, prompting the organisation to send its first mission there in 1924. The history of the ILO's subsequent involvement with China, and in particular of its branch office established there in 1930, forms the subject of another chapter. As a result of persistent lobbying by the YWCA, the Shanghai Municipal Council was in 1932 persuaded to create an 'Industrial Section' to oversee industrial conditions in factories of the International Settlement. The achievement of this Section, which was led by a former YWCA official, is also reviewed. Perhaps the best-known episode in the history of industrial welfare efforts in China before 1949 was the attempt to restrict the use of child labour in the factories of the International Settlement in the mid-'twenties, in which many individuals and groups collaborated. This episode is re-examined here as a case study, with the benefit of a record of the original testimony before the Child Labour Commission, for it will be suggested that the obstacles in the way of the success of any gradual reform in China are most clearly brought to light in this case. In the final chapter, this theme is pursued further, as the overall Christian industrial welfare effort is evaluated and the contradictions within it are explored."

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CHAPTER 1

The Setting

The year 1895 was in several ways a watershed for China. Her defeat by Japan in that year was significant in that it precipitated both a movement for reform in all phases of Chinese life - culminating in the abortive '100 days of reform' in 1898 - and also the scramble for further concessions and spheres of influence on the part of the foreign powers which helped to provoke the Boxer Uprising in 1899. Not least among the consequences of China's defeat was the provision of the Treaty of Shimonoseki permitting for the first time the construction and operation of modern factories by the Japanese in the principal Treaty Ports. According to the 'most favoured nation' principle this privilege came to apply automatically to the other Powers having treaty relations with China. From the turn of the century therefore a new dimension began to be added to the established pattern of foreign commercial intercourse with China, as the next two decades witnessed the development of industry in the major Treaty Ports, funded initially by foreign capital, later also by Chinese investment, and spurred on by the constriction of the flow of foreign goods into China during the First World War.

Prior to the end of the First War, Christian missionaries in China's Treaty Ports had sought to minister chiefly to the growing middle class. The birth of modern industry, however, had introduced a new factor into urban life in the form of the emergent industrial working population, whose conditions of life and labour equalled in squalor anything known during the worst phases of the industrial revolution in the West. A dawning awareness of the need to meet this new problem if Christianity were to have any profound influence on China, coupled with anxiety over the threat posed to the social equilibrium by strikes and other industrial disorders, moved certain Christian agencies in the early 'twenties to take a more active interest in the plight of urban workers.

It will be the writer's purpose in ensuing chapters to explore the various manifestations of this 'Christian concern' for workers in industry, and to attempt to reconstruct in some detail the initiatives taken on the workers' behalf. It is hoped thereby to provide a clearer understanding of what 'industrial welfare', as conceived principally by foreigners, involved, and especially of what constituted its limitations, for it will be the contention of this paper that gradual reform, paternally administered, could not ultimately succeed. It is perhaps in this that the record of achievement of industrial reformers in China has a more universal relevance. This is not to say that the promotion of industrial welfare could not lead to a higher consciousness, to a clearer perception both among reformers and workers of the need for self-directed change on the part of working people; indeed, this is precisely what happened in certain cases. Rather it is to suggest that when this point is reached the notion of gradual reform has been left behind, working people take matters into their own hands, and the seed of revolution has been planted.

The Christian organisations principally responsible for industrial welfare work in China in the nineteen-twenties and 'thirties were the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, and the National Christian Council of China, representing the various Protestant Churches. The work in this sphere of each of these agencies will be dealt with in turn, though there are many points at which it overlapped. The activity of Christian reformers drew the attention of the International Labour Office to China, prompting the organisation to send its first mission there in 1924. The history of the ILO's subsequent involvement with China, and in particular of its branch office established there in 1930, will form the subject of another chapter. As a result of persistent lobbying by the YWCA the Shanghai Municipal Council was in 1932 persuaded to create an 'Industrial Section' to oversee industrial conditions in factories of the International Settlement. The achievements of the Section, which was led by a former YWCA official, will also be reviewed here. Perhaps the best-known

episode in the history of industrial welfare efforts in China before 1949 is the attempt to restrict the use of child labour in the factories of the International Settlement in the mid-'twenties, in which many individuals and groups collaborated. This episode will be re-examined here as a case study, with the benefit of a record of the original testimony before the Child Labour Commission, for it will be suggested that the obstacles in the way of the success of any gradual reform in China are most clearly brought to light in this case. In the final chapters this theme will be pursued further, as the overall Christian industrial welfare effort is evaluated, and the contradictions within it are explored.

Before proceeding to an examination of the Christian industrial welfare movement itself, it will be necessary to recall briefly the context in which it occurred. The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to some observations on the state of Chinese industry during the period under review, the conditions of life and work of Chinese workers, the extent and nature of industrial legislation, and the activity of trade unions.

The pattern of industrial development in China before the Liberation was largely determined by the prospects for a rapid return on investment as they appeared to Chinese and foreign entrepreneurs. Capital was therefore invested in those industries where there was the greatest likelihood of a quick profit, with little attention being given to the need for balanced development or the desirability of ultimately attaining industrial self-sufficiency. Sometimes hopes were disappointed, but more frequently China provided fertile soil for investment. The agents of one cotton mill were able to boast in the mid-'twenties:-

"It will be seen that the company is in an exceptionally favourable position. With the raw product at their doors, an abundant and absurdly cheap labour supply to draw on, and no vexatious factory laws to observe, it is not surprising that their annual profits should have exceeded their total capital on at least three occasions." ¹

The flow of investment into an industry naturally tended to be reflected in the size of the actual factories in which the workers and machinery were housed, and indeed in the extent to which modern machinery was used at all. Thus industries which were 'modern' as this term would be understood in the West, those "...in which large factories may be found where large numbers of workers are gathered in large buildings and power machinery is used..." ² were cotton spinning, silk reeling, the manufacture of cigarettes and tobacco, the manufacture of matches, flour milling, oil pressing, sugar refining, the making of egg products, printing, the manufacture of machine parts, and the manufacture of items from rubber. ³

Certain of these industries were also carried on in smaller workshops with fewer employees, and where the extent of modernisation was much less; in particular silk reeling, the manufacture of rubber and matches, and printing were also carried on on this smaller scale, while a variety of other manufacturing processes were undertaken principally at this level, notably the production of knitted garments and woollen textiles, electrical items, glassware, and paper.⁴ It is appropriate that more than one authority should emphasise the fact that the great majority of factories in China before the Liberation were of this smaller type.⁵ As a consequence of this fragmentation of industry observation of conditions, reform and the application of legislation were all made more difficult than they might otherwise have been.

A third level of manufacturing enterprise was true handicraft industry, production of domestic wares and other relatively simple items using age-old techniques. Handicraft work was carried on both in the cities and, particularly during the slack season afforded by the agricultural cycle, by peasants in the countryside. Here production was usually related more directly to local needs, and the influence of the money economy and considerations of profit were much less to be felt, with the result that the handicraft worker, though poor, was more his own master, and the pace of work less arduous. Exceptions to the rule with respect to the scale and intensity of handicraft work might be those hand industries which produced for a wider market or for export, such as the lacquerware industry, notably in Canton and Foochow, and the porcelain industry at Kingtechen in Kiangsi. Handicraft industry, although involving many more people than the modern sector, commanded little attention among those seeking to reform conditions of industry in China, and will not therefore be a focus of this study.

It is impossible to estimate with any accuracy at all for this period in China's history just how many workers were employed in the various industries, how many and how large were the factories in which they worked, or even the extent of capitalisation for any but the most

prominent enterprises. Although statistics were kept by the old Peking Government between 1914 and 1920, and again by the Nationalist Ministry of Industries in Nanking and by the Bureau of Social Affairs of the Municipality of Greater Shanghai after 1928, they were in the early years at least generally incomplete, inadequately qualified, and contained glaring inconsistencies.⁶ Efforts by the Nankai University Statistical Service, D.K. Lieu and others to make sense of Government figures tended to founder because of the haphazardness with which the data had been collected.⁷ Partial but probably more accurate information was sometimes provided for researchers by employers' associations or by individual firms, and was also kept, though rarely made public, by the consular officers of the various powers enjoying treaty privileges in China.⁸ In the late 'thirties the Shanghai Municipal Council's Industrial Section began to keep comprehensive data on industry in the International Settlement, but this activity was soon cut short by the Japanese occupation of Shanghai at the end of 1941.⁹ A review of all available information about the deployment of capital and labour in China before the Liberation is long overdue, but is a task of some magnitude which cannot be attempted here.

While statistics for this period must therefore be treated as only a very imprecise indication of the true state of affairs, some attempt to define the scope of Chinese industry at this time would nonetheless seem to be in order. The last survey by the Peking Government in 1920 estimated that there were some 420,000 workers in Chinese industry in that year, of whom by far the largest element were workers in cotton spinning and related occupations - some 144,000.¹⁰ 'Textile weaving' employed some 80,000 workers, silk reeling 54,000, tobacco processing nearly 7,000, the manufacture of matches and gunpowder nearly 10,000, and printing over 4,000 to mention but a few.¹¹ It was estimated that of the total of 6,524 factories in China at this time, 80% housed between 7 and 29 workers, while only 1,312 or 20% contained 30 workers or more. In only 499 factories, or 7.6%, were there said

to be 100 workers or more.¹² It is interesting that Augusta Wagner, writing in 1938, estimated that there were by that time "...probably not many more than 2,000..." factories with 30 or more employees, and that of these there were "...probably not more than five hundred large factories..."¹³ She cites a census taken in Shanghai in 1934 which showed that only 375 factories there averaged 100 employees or more.¹⁴ In Wagner's estimation there were between 900,000 and 1 million workers employed in "...industrial establishments which can be considered factories..."¹⁵ by which she would appear to mean those employing 30 or more.¹⁶ Wagner puts the development of industry into perspective when she points out that even by the time of the outbreak of war with Japan less than one-fifth of one per cent of China's people were engaged in industrial production in any modern sense.

In China's most important modern industry, cotton spinning, the most significant period of expansion seems to have occurred between 1918 and 1923, when the number of mills in operation increased from 49 to 120.¹⁷ This number had remained unchanged when the Chinese Cotton Millowners' Association published a report on the industry in 1928, at which time it was said to employ 241,559 people. Capitalisation of the industry was put at 297,400,000 taels, of which 28% or 84 million was Chinese (73 mills), 2% or 5,400,000 was British (3 mills), and 70% or 208 million was Japanese (44 mills).¹⁸ More than half of the mills were located in Shanghai, with the others scattered among various treaty port cities. A subsequent report in 1937 found that there were then 143 mills employing 232,846 workers.¹⁹ Extensive use was made of women and girls as operatives in the cotton industry.²⁰

The development of the silk-reeling industry seems to have gone ahead more steadily than was the case with cotton, though the investment of capital was on a much smaller scale. One source estimates that there were 495 steam-worked silk filatures in China in 1929, of which 299 were in Kwangtung, while in Shanghai there were 104 and in Wusih 37.²¹ Others were located elsewhere in Kiangsu, and in Chekiang,

Szechuan, Hupeh and Shantung. No proper estimate seems to exist of the total number employed in the silk industry at the time of this survey, though Shanghai filatures are reported as giving employment to 63,900,²² while a different source places the number employed in the filatures in Wusih at 23,604.²³ If these figures are projected it is possible to speculate that there may have been as many as 236,911 workers employed in silk filatures throughout China.²⁴ Similarly, if Ho and Fong are reasonably accurate in asserting that the 'mode size filature' in Shanghai was capitalised at this time at about 30,000 taels,²⁵ then the capital invested in the industry throughout China might be estimated at 14,850,000 taels. The fact that silk filatures required less capital expenditure than cotton mills must in some measure account for the greater degree of Chinese ownership in the silk industry, though foreign investment, particularly that of Japan and Britain, was evident here as elsewhere.²⁶ Finally, it must be noted that the extent to which women were employed was greater in the silk industry than in any other, and it was not uncommon for a filature to be run almost entirely by women and young girls, with only foremen and the management being men.

With respect to the tobacco industry, there were according to one source some 58 tobacco factories in China by 1937, of which those of the British-American Tobacco Company and the Nanyang Brothers were by far the largest and the best known.²⁷ The BAT Co., and most of the Chinese factories were situated in Shanghai, where the 45 Chinese factories alone employed some 17,000 workers.²⁸ A full complement at the BAT Co. would bring this figure up to a likely 25,000, while in China as a whole there were perhaps 30,000 employed in the industry. Capitalisation of Chinese concerns stood at \$20,452,667Mex. we are told in 1937.²⁹ If the BAT Co. is taken into account, it is possible to conceive of capitalisation for the industry standing at about \$30,000,000Mex. In tobacco factories, it was common for men and women to be employed.

In the match industry, there were said to be some 73 factories in existence in 1937,³⁰ substantially fewer than another study had

uncovered nine years earlier.³¹ No attempt was made to estimate the number of people working in match factories, which were scattered throughout almost all the provinces of China, though total capitalisation for the industry was put at \$16,852,570Mex.³² Most factories were said to be quite small, and many apparently used little or no power machinery. Their importance to any consideration of industrial welfare lies in the particular notoriety they gained in the 'twenties for their extensive use of poisonous yellow phosphorous and for their widespread employment of children.

Among the other types of enterprise, there were the knitting mills, of which in 1937 there were estimated to be some 1714, mostly small, with a total capitalisation of \$6,511,806Mex.,³³ spread out throughout the country, woollen textile factories, of which there were 329 capitalised at \$7,894,900Mex., many of which were devoted to the manufacture of carpets, and most of which were located in Tientsin, Peking and Shanghai,³⁴ and rubber factories concerned with the manufacture of rubber footwear and the like, of which there were said to be 74 in 1937 with a total capital of some \$4,000,000Mex., most situated in Shanghai and Canton.³⁵

The inadequacy of statistical information about Chinese industry at this time, and in particular its lack of continuity make it difficult to assess with any precision the pattern of growth or retrenchment in the various categories of manufacture. Some would assert that for Chinese industry as a whole the period 1922-28 was one of relatively little progress, characterised as it was by political strife, growing labour militancy, and renewed competition for Chinese products from goods manufactured in Europe.³⁶ It is no coincidence that this period also happens to see the first wave of concern among foreigners over questions of industrial welfare in China. Between 1929 and 1931, with the victory of the Nationalist forces and suppression of the unions guaranteeing industrialists a respite from labour troubles, Chinese industry experienced a brief resurgence. The grounds for optimism were insubstantial,

however, and co-incidentally with the Japanese invasion of Shanghai in the spring of 1932 China began to feel the full impact of the world Depression which had been ravaging the economic life of Europe and America for the previous two years. The effect on most industries was very serious. Between 1932 and 1935 many factories reduced the number of workers they employed, and cut the working hours and the pay of those who remained. Others closed down altogether, some never to re-open. In 1934 only five out of more than one hundred silk filatures in Shanghai were functioning, and 70,000 silk workers in Chekiang and Kiangsu were out of work.³⁷ In 1935 nine cotton mills, in various parts of China, with a capital value of nearly \$14 million Mex., were driven to bankruptcy.³⁸ It may be suspected that the cost of the protracted military campaigns against the Communists in central China at this time, both in terms of Government expenditure and political instability, was instrumental in prolonging the slump in manufacturing. Government measures to stabilise the currency taken in the autumn of 1935 brought a return of confidence, however, and industrial production had begun to approach pre-Depression levels by mid-1937.

The outbreak of war with Japan very quickly reversed this process as one after another of the cities in Eastern China fell to the armies of occupation and industrial production came, for the time being, to a halt. In Shanghai Japanese bombing of factories in areas under Chinese jurisdiction, and the enormous influx of refugees into the International Settlement rendered normal economic life impossible well into 1938.³⁹ In due course, however, factories in territory under Japanese control were mobilised more or less effectively in support of the Japanese war effort, while in the International Settlement Chinese and foreign entrepreneurs took advantage of the enclave's rather extraordinary neutrality to revive production and profit, probably from both sides, in the war. Over the next two years the economy of the Settlement experienced an unprecedented recovery, although decline had again set in by 1941. Away to the west, attempts by the Nationalists to re-establish production around Chungking with machinery and refugees brought from the cities of the east met with only limited success.

To what extent was Chinese industry Chinese-owned during the period under review? Perhaps the best contemporary study of this question is that by the economist C.F. Remer,⁴⁰ published in 1933. Remer found that of all foreign money invested in China in the early 'thirties, a total he estimated at US\$3,242,500,000, only slightly over ten per cent, some US\$376,300,000 was invested in manufacturing industry, with the remainder, nearly ninety per cent, representing interests in transport, mining, real estate, banking, and the export and import trade.⁴¹ Of this US\$376,300,000, all but US\$4,000,000 was taken up by the interests of four major powers, Britain, Japan, the United States and Russia, with Britain's share being US\$173,400,000, that of Japan US\$165,600,000, that of the United States US\$20,500,000, and that of Russia US\$12,800,000.⁴² British investment in manufacturing was by far the most diversified; in addition to cotton and silk products, British-owned factories in China made cigarettes, candles, flour, bean oil, chemicals, soap, cement, lumber and rope as well as processing skins, furs, bristles and wool. There were also British-owned printing works.⁴³ British manufacturing interests were represented in some measure in almost every major Treaty Port. By contrast, much of Japan's investment was concentrated in cotton and silk mills, particularly in Shanghai, though Japanese capital was also present in cigarette and match factories, paper factories, saw mills and woodworking plants, flour mills, and vegetable oil pressing mills.⁴⁴ American investment was principally in the manufacture of carpets, while White Russians had owned flour mills, distilleries, saw mills, and vegetable oil pressing mills, chiefly in Manchuria where they were lost to the Japanese upon the invasion in 1931.⁴⁵

Many of these factories were situated in the foreign settlements or concessions of major cities, where, subject to extra-territorial jurisdiction according to the provisions of the Unequal Treaties, their owners were immune to Chinese law. That factory owners and other foreign Treaty Port residents were unreceptive to suggestions by the

Chinese that they should give up their privileged position is amply illustrated in testimony before the Feetham Commission on the status of the International Settlement in Shanghai in 1931.⁴⁶ Indeed, Feetham's conclusion, that the status of the Settlement was legitimate because it had been freely negotiated in a diplomatic treaty,⁴⁷ was narrowly legalistic and bound not to impress Chinese opinion, and showed how wide a gap remained on extra-territoriality well into the 'thirties. Even where foreign factories operated in territory nominally under Chinese jurisdiction, there was no clear agreement that their operation should be governed by Chinese law. One important result of this state of affairs was that no progress was made on the implementation of laws for factory inspection because the Chinese Government claimed that it could not effectively enforce its will on foreign factories either outside or inside the concession areas.⁴⁸

Where did the people come from to fill the factories, and what were their conditions of work? Much of the labour employed in Treaty Port factories was attracted from the rural areas in the hinterland of the cities, or from father afield in neighbouring provinces. In general, the flow from villages was greatest when the weather, or political unrest, made it harder than usual to scratch a living from the soil. At first most workers, often male heads of household, would be likely to spend only part of the year in the factory, returning to the country to practise their former livelihood for the remainder of the time. Some mills took this into account, and closed down for a month or so at harvest time. 'Rural-urban mobility' might also occur on the occasion of religious holidays, marriages and birthdays, because of funeral ceremonies, the illness of a parent, a desire to consult a local medicine man or fortune-teller, and so forth, for voluntary and social as well as for economic reasons. In due course, the tendency was for the entire family to migrate to the city and to remain there on a year-round basis. Traffic back and forth to the countryside became less frequent as the

family lost contact with its rural origins. Thus, in centres such as Shanghai, Tientsin, Hankow and Canton, sizeable urbanised labouring classes came into existence. Shanghai, for example, drew many of its workers from the depressed area of Kiangsu north of the Yangtze River known as Chiangpei, or the 'Kompo'.⁴⁹ While the flow into Shanghai was by no means unbroken - the influx of permanent immigrants during the period of civil strife in the mid-'twenties was followed by a forced if temporary exodus by tens of thousands of unemployed during the lean years of the early 'thirties - nonetheless the trend overall was in the direction of the cities, and this would undoubtedly have continued had not the Liberation intervened and the Communist Party imposed a more rational pattern for China's development.

The particular methods of recruiting workers into industry in China in the early Twentieth Century played no small part in hastening the flow from the countryside, and in making sure that workers remained in city mills and factories as long as they were needed. Jean Chesneaux has described the three principal methods of recruitment as apprenticeship, the labour contract, and the 'freely negotiated agreement'.⁵⁰

Apprenticeship was a concept which had been inherited from the traditional Chinese guild. While it was not widely used as a method of recruitment in Shanghai, it was much in evidence elsewhere, notably in the cotton mills of Tientsin and Hankow, the silk filatures of Wusih, the match factories of Peking and Tientsin, the glassworks of Peking and Hong Kong, and in the workshops on the Ching-Han railway line.⁵¹ Under this system, a company agent would be sent to the villages in a city's hinterland to urge male children to return with him to the city and become apprenticed to a trade or industry. Parents would be encouraged to sign their offspring over to the agent by promises that factory work was not hard, and that schooling would be given to all workers. The decisive factor must often have been the bleakness of the prospects in the countryside. Once the contract was signed, the

young apprentice would be obliged to go to work for his company for board and lodging, and frequently no salary at all. An apprentice was often virtually a prisoner in the factory where he worked, eating and sleeping there, and requiring special permission to go out. If an apprentice abandoned his company before his time was served, his family would in all likelihood be subject to a fine. In most cases, the promised schooling failed to materialise, and because of the continual induction of new recruits into the system the possibilities for employment at the end of the term were severely limited.⁵²

The 'pao-kung' or contract labour system, the second of the three methods of recruitment, was the one which prevailed in Shanghai until the Liberation. It was used extensively in the cotton mills and silk filatures, and by foreign employers such as the Public Works Department of the International Settlement, the French Tramway Company, and the British-American Tobacco Company.⁵³ While it is frequently suggested that foreign entrepreneurs, upon coming to China, may have adopted this method of recruitment because it was an easy way of handling Chinese labour, Chesneaux points out that there was precedent for the hiring of workers through intermediary agencies not only in certain pre-capitalist industries such as flour-milling, construction and tin-mining, but also in agriculture in certain parts of the country.⁵⁴

According to this system a 'pao-kung-t'ou' or 'lao-pan', essentially a middle man, who had made a contract with the manager of an enterprise to supply a certain quantity of labour, would in turn make contracts with workers, both adults and children, who would then become his employees. They might then work in a factory designated by the contractor for three or four years or more for nothing more than board, lodging, and clothing provided by the contractor, and perhaps a bonus of from \$10 to \$40Mex. at the end of the contract.⁵⁵ Young women workers were often locked in their dormitories during their leisure hours, and escorted to and from work by 'guards' employed

by the contractor specially for the purpose.⁵⁶ The profits made by some labour contractors were quite handsome. Where a worker had been so unfortunate as to get into debt with his contractor, exorbitant rates of interest ensured that he would have to go on working for nothing well after the expiry of his original contract. When days were lost through illness or for some other reason, they had to be made up at the expiry of the contract; Augusta Wagner suggests that compensation of one month's work for one day lost was not uncommon.⁵⁷ Where the labour contract system was used to recruit children from the countryside there was, as the Shanghai Child Labour Commission was to observe, ample scope for abuse. Children were often housed in the most miserable quarters and fed scarcely enough to keep them alive; while the contractor might pay the parents of a child \$2Mex. per month, for the right to exploit its labour, he would probably collect \$6Mex. per month from the company for the work that the child had done.⁵⁸ The findings of the Child Labour Commission with respect to the conditions which children endured in the factories stand in turn as testimony to the desperate circumstances which prompted their parents to send them there in the first place.

The 'freely negotiated agreement' was the third form of recruitment, according to which the worker was, in theory, taken on and paid directly by the factory, and was free to quit at any time. The actual hiring was usually done by the factory foreman, however, the man in control of the factory floor, and it was common for him to exact a commission of two weeks' or a month's wages for taking on a new recruit. Once employed, the 'free labourer' in many cases had to continue to ply the foreman with gifts if he wished to keep his job. The tyranny of the overseer was common amongst enterprises of all kinds, and a hierarchy of authority and patronage existed even in those factories where recruits were hired on a supposedly free basis.

As in other spheres, information about hours and rates of pay in Chinese industry in the 1920's is fragmented and incomplete. Some

data was collected, largely as a result of the initiative of Christian reformers, who had as a rule no training in statistics.⁵⁹ In the early 'thirties, however, the interest in gathering statistical information increased, and several studies were published which attempted to describe the range of wages in various industries.⁶⁰ Some, more importantly, tried to relate the wages paid to the cost of living for working class families.⁶¹

First, with respect to hours, a study published in 1935 showed that in Shanghai, even by that late date, workers in the cotton spinning mills worked on average an $11\frac{1}{2}$ hour day, while those in the silk reeling mills worked an 11 hour day.⁶² Workers in these two industries probably accounted for almost half of all workers in the city. In the flour mills the length of the average working day was $11\frac{1}{2}$ hours, in cotton weaving mills $11\frac{1}{4}$, in wool weaving $10\frac{3}{4}$, silk weaving $10\frac{1}{2}$, in machine shops $9\frac{1}{4}$, and in tobacco and match factories under 8 hours, to mention only some of the examples given.⁶³ A separate study by the Nanking Ministry of Industries in 1937 purported to show that the overall average for hours of work in Shanghai industries was $9\frac{1}{2}$, which compared favourably with an average of 10 hours for Hankow and Peking, 11 hours for Soochow and Chefoo, and 12 hours in Tientsin and Tsingtao.⁶⁴ In one city, Tsungchow, the average working day was said to be 13 hours long.⁶⁵ During his trip to China in 1924 the ILO official Pierre Henry had found small factories in Peking where a 16 hour day was normal practice,⁶⁶ and there is little reason to suppose that where a single shift was worked it would not be well over 12 hours in length even into the late 'thirties. In the larger plants, where children were employed at certain stages in the process of production, it was necessary for them to work the same hours as adults in order that the pace of manufacture should be kept up.

One of the earliest attempts to make a comprehensive estimate of wages in a wide range of industries throughout China was the study undertaken by Dorothy Orchard over the years 1931-32.⁶⁷ Orchard

conducted a survey which yielded information for 168 establishments employing some 73,000 workers in thirty-four cities from Harbin to Canton. Her findings with respect to the 'usual' basic wage for workers in various industries are reproduced elsewhere,⁶⁸ and show a range for particular industries, and a relationship between industries not dissimilar to what is suggested by the more partial surveys undertaken in the 'twenties.⁶⁹ Nonetheless, her findings suffer the disadvantages of any attempt at generalisation, precisely that they are not specific enough with respect to variations in wage according to place, and the sex, age and function of the worker to really be of very much use. Nor does she relate earnings to the cost of living, an equation which would be very difficult to make with any validity over so vast a geographical area. A study published in December 1934 showing that for Shanghai alone, where wage rates were generally agreed to be better than elsewhere in China, the average annual expenditure of a labourer was \$454Mex. while his average annual income was \$416Mex. clearly pointed up the need for the relation to be made.⁷⁰

Perhaps the most sophisticated attempts to portray the standard of living of Chinese workers resulted from studies undertaken in Shanghai by organs of the Municipal Council of the International Settlement, studies which suggest the influence of Eleanor Hinder and Rewi Alley of the Council's Industrial Section. The Council's Housing Committee reported in 1937 that in a sample of the expenditure of working class families, those families where the head of the household was unskilled regularly spent an average of 11.63 per cent more than the income of the head of the household just for the basic necessities of food, rent and clothing. For the whole sample of 670 families, if expenditures other than food, rent and clothing were taken into account none of the families was able to live within the income of the head of the household.⁷¹ The difference was made up in a few cases by profit from moneylending, or from rent for land in the country, but in most cases by the income of other members of the family, and by

borrowing. Some 185 families, covering the full spectrum of unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled heads of household, had to borrow in order to meet their deficit,⁷² from which it is possible to conclude that more than a quarter of working class families in Shanghai may have been permanently in debt.

The Industrial Section of the Municipal Council began itself to publish figures on hours, wages, and the cost of living for workers under its jurisdiction in 1938. The process of gathering data was put in charge of T.Y. Tsha, formerly Chief of the Statistical Division of the Bureau of Social Affairs of the Municipality of Greater Shanghai, who took up his duties with the Council when the Japanese occupation made it impossible to carry on his work outside the Settlement.⁷³ His data for the years 1938-40 therefore represents an extension of that compiled over the previous decade for factories in Greater Shanghai, but now apparently covered only factories in the Settlement. It is further evident that only Chinese-owned factories were surveyed, and it was not until 1940 that the possibility of gathering data for foreign-owned enterprises began seriously to be broached.⁷⁴ In a report in that year it was suggested that the proportionally higher use of men in foreign-owned factories, rather than women workers, would, if it were taken into account, be reflected in an improved overall picture of wages.⁷⁵ It had long been established practice in China as elsewhere that in general men were paid more than women, and women were paid more than children.

The average monthly earnings for workers in a variety of industries for the years 1930 to 1940 inclusive in Shanghai are presented in tabular form elsewhere.⁷⁶ They are perhaps more useful than simple hourly wage rates, in that they reflect the level of activity in an industry, and the hours and days actually worked, rather than a normative rate of pay. There will nonetheless be some correspondence between earnings and rates of pay. Tsha's data shows that those industries where the average monthly earnings were consistently lowest were silk

reeling, match making, and cotton spinning, with the tobacco industry offering only a little more.⁷⁷ At the other end of the scale, workers in the printing and shipbuilding industries earned the most, sometimes in excess of four times as much on average as their lowest paid colleagues in the silk industry. In between were workers in industries such as wool weaving, flour milling, hosiery knitting, and oil pressing.⁷⁸ While there was some fluctuation in the relative earning capacity of workers in various industries over the years, broadly speaking the pattern was very little changed by 1940. What had changed was the purchasing power of workers as represented by their real wages, the reflection of the relationship between their actual earnings and the cost of living. A study in 1940 showed that real wages, from an index of 96.19 in 1930 had increased to 111.57 by 1933, declined to 96.8 by 1935 because of the depression, rose slightly to the base of 100 in 1936, and then plummeted to 55.33 in 1940 because of the war.⁷⁹ Thus, it must be clear that for workers in the lowest paid occupations, where the hold on life was already marginal with all members of the family working, the impact on their livelihood of recession or civil strife was most significant. When the pace of industry slowed down, those who were not thrown out of work altogether often had their hours reduced with a corresponding drop in their earnings, while some even had to endure a reduction in their rate of pay.⁸⁰

Thus far, the plight of the unemployed has received little mention. Because of the constant flow of people back and forth from the city to the countryside, exaggerated in times of stress, and because government agencies were in any case little inclined to monitor the movements of the industrial population, it is almost impossible to estimate in retrospect the extent of unemployment in industry in China at any given time or place during the period under consideration. Some fragmentary evidence is available, for example 75,219 out of a total of 394,154 workers registering with the Bureau of Social Affairs of Greater Shanghai in 1928 were said to be unemployed,⁸¹ while in the

same year 96,050 labourers were said to be unemployed in Hankow.⁸² Undoubtedly these totals include not only unemployed workers in manufacturing industry, but also many 'coolie' labourers and handicraft workers as well. Another estimate, by the All China Labour Federation in 1930, put the total of unemployed in both modern and handicraft industry at about 10 million, or 60% of what the ACLF considered to be the workforce in all branches of industry throughout China.⁸³ It will be apparent that figures such as these are quite inadequate as a guide to unemployment in modern industry.

Nonetheless, they are an indication that unemployment of a substantial order probably existed even at a time of relatively normal commercial activity, while it is generally conceded that the level of unemployment dramatically increased during the slump of 1934/5 throughout the country,⁸⁴ and again in late 1937, particularly in Shanghai, as a result of the outbreak of hostilities between China and Japan. The emergency facing the authorities of the International Settlement in 1937 because of the simultaneous destruction of some industry in the area under their jurisdiction with the consequent loss of jobs, and the influx of workers from outside the Settlement boundaries where destruction had been more systematic, led them for the first time to survey the extent of unemployment. Partial estimates suggested that in the Eastern and Northern districts of the Settlement alone, the destruction during the last half of 1937 had put some 95,000 workers out of work.⁸⁵ Revised figures presented the following year showed that the number of industrial workers employed in the Settlement had dropped from some 200,000 before the outbreak of hostilities to only 27,000 in December 1937, but that because of rapid re-building and clever exploitation of markets formerly supplied by industries elsewhere the number employed by December 1938 had increased to 237,000.⁸⁶ Despite this extraordinary recovery in the Settlement,⁸⁷ it is very probable that a large measure of unemployment continued to exist among industrial workers in Shanghai, particularly among those previously

employed by enterprises in areas now under Japanese occupation. Here reconstruction was slower, if undertaken at all, and it is likely that many tens of thousands of workers were permanently displaced from their jobs, some probably returning to the countryside, and others drifting into the Settlement, where they might find refuge but few extra jobs.⁸⁸

Certain other aspects of the life of the Chinese industrial worker remain to be dealt with, in particular the level of health and industrial safety among working people, the availability and quality of housing, and the extent to which welfare facilities of any sort were made available to him by his employer.

In many industries occupational hazards were to be found which adversely affected the health or threatened the safety of workers. In cotton mills workers frequently suffered from a high level of dust and fluff in the air, while in silk filatures the humid atmosphere necessary to the preservation of the quality of the silk made for a high incidence of tuberculosis among employees.⁸⁹ In match factories the extensive use of yellow phosphorous in the process of manufacture in the 'twenties often gave rise to phosphorous poisoning among workers, the disease known as 'phossy-jaw' which caused the progressive disintegration of the bone structure of the face and in many cases death.⁹⁰ An outcry against the continued use of yellow phosphorous in the late 'twenties saw its gradual replacement by a less poisonous phosphorous. In rug factories and embroidery workshops young workers frequently went blind after a few years because they were required to work in cramped quarters with insufficient light.⁹¹ In rubber factories and chemical plants inadequate ventilation to clear away the fumes meant that employees had not uncommonly to live with recurring bouts of nausea,⁹² while of one glass factory visited by the ILO official Pierre Henry in 1924 it was observed that if a visitor spent a morning there he would emerge unable to speak because of the number of particles of glass he had absorbed.⁹³ Almost all workers had to endure the effects of some

degree of malnutrition, and fatigue from long hours of work. Sanitary facilities in the factories were usually of the most primitive kind, and diseases such as dysentery were widespread. Very few enquiries were undertaken into the health of industrial workers; those which stand out are the investigation into phosphorous poisoning in the match industry conducted by Dr. G.T. Maitland for the National Christian Council in 1924,⁹⁴ and the studies undertaken for the Industrial Section of the Shanghai Municipal Council between 1934 and 1937, by Dr. H.S. Gear into lead poisoning in the printing industry, by Dr. S.C. Hatem into acid poisoning in the chrome and metal plating industry, by Dr. Bernard Read into the diet of workers, and by Dr. B.S. Platt into the deleterious effects of handling lead and antimony in type-founding for the printing industry, in soldering, and in the manufacture of storage batteries and enamel.⁹⁵ An experiment in 1937 designed to encourage the provision by employers of more nutritious food for their workers was cut short by the war.⁹⁶

It was not only the health of workers which was frequently in jeopardy in their places of work, but also their safety. Unguarded power machinery moving at high speed was a hazard in many factories, but in none more than the cotton mills where the swing of the plait of a woman's hair or a hand carelessly extended could result in a scalping, or maiming and the loss of fingers or an arm.⁹⁷ The risk of fire was always present, especially in chemical plants, textile mills and match factories, and in one conflagration in a rubber plant in Shanghai in 1933 81 workers lost their lives.⁹⁸ Frequently no precautions were taken against fire, and exits were blocked, preventing escape. Explosions caused by faultily constructed boilers and pressure vessels were another cause of injury and death, while in the construction industry workers were prone to suffer misadventure by falling as a result of haste or negligence or loose scaffolding.⁹⁹ In many manufacturing processes the mishandling of dangerous substances was a common cause of mishap.

The Industrial Section of the Shanghai Municipal Council kept a record of all industrial accidents reported in the Settlement between 1934 and 1940. During these years there was an annual average of 1886 accidents reported, of which on average 92.3 or 4.9% were fatal.¹⁰⁰ It must be emphasised, however, that employers often did not report misadventures in their factories to the Section, and therefore the accident figures offered in the annual reports of the Section represent only a partial picture, being based on the submissions of hospitals, the police, ambulance services, and those employers who would co-operate. It is not possible to say from these annual reports that misadventure was most common in any one industry, as the industry most subject to mishap varied from year to year.¹⁰¹

If industrial accidents contributed to the burden of working class life only occasionally, the lack of a decent place to live was a constant and inescapable trial. A survey of workers' housing by M.T. Tchou of the YMCA in 1926 revealed such conditions of squalor and overcrowding in workers' accommodation in Shanghai that for a time a token interest was aroused in 'model villages' as a panacea for the physical and spiritual degeneration of workers' lives.¹⁰² The interest was short-lived, however, and conditions had little changed by the outbreak of hostilities with Japan in 1937. The average two storey 'Chinese house' in Shanghai and other cities was still partitioned into a rabbit warren of compartments and subcompartments by means of vertical and horizontal boards, and might contain two dozen people or more who all had to live, cook, eat and sleep within its limited confines.¹⁰³ Of a sample of 113,286 families living in 41,160 houses in a congested part of Shanghai in 1935, the greatest number of families, the modal group, lived four families to a house.¹⁰⁴ By 1938, as a result of the influx of refugees into the Settlement, an estimate based admittedly on a much smaller sample suggested that the modal point might be 7.22 families to a house.¹⁰⁵ In this type of housing the principal tenant often sought to extract the maximum possible rent from his sub-tenants. Many

workers could not afford even this kind of accommodation, and were driven to occupy shacks and shantie's on the outskirts of the city. In the case of Shanghai, recommendations by the Municipal Council's Housing Committee in 1937 which might have eased the situation were never put into effect because of the outbreak of war, though certain initiatives were taken by the Council to ease somewhat the accommodation dilemma rather belatedly in 1941.¹⁰⁶ In the 'thirties it became the practice among some industrial employers in China to provide either company housing or dormitory accommodation for their workers as was more commonly the custom in Japan. Apart from the fact that the employee, if he accepted this, was almost totally a prisoner of his company, the tendency was for the quality of the lodging, and board if provided, to decline. In the late 'thirties in Shanghai this trend was reinforced by the flow of refugees into the Settlement in search of accommodation and employment, so that the call for 'One worker, one bed' became common among dormitory residents resisting the practice of assigning two workers to every bunk in the daytime, and two other workers at night.¹⁰⁷

To what extent was the plight of workers overall alleviated by the provision of extra benefits or welfare facilities of any kind? Certainly one of the first employers to recognise the need for supplementary assistance for its workers was the Commercial Press, a large publishing house with branches in several major cities. As early as 1924 the Commercial Press provided a quite comprehensive programme of benefits for its employees, which in addition to the usual monthly and annual attendance bonuses offered participation in a savings scheme with nine per cent interest on fixed accounts, assistance from the company benevolent fund in case of retirement, death or extreme need, hospital care at no charge and facilities for vaccination, two months maternity leave on reduced pay, recreation and bathing facilities, English and Chinese language evening classes available to adult workers for a nominal charge, and subsidised kindergarten and primary school education for the children of workers.¹⁰⁸ The Commercial Press was, of course,

an exceptional case, run as it was by the Chinese Christian industrialist Fong Sec, who was closely associated with the YMCA.¹⁰⁹ While a number of Chinese and foreign concerns in due course copied some aspects of the programme of the Commercial Press, particularly with respect to evening classes and recreation facilities,¹¹⁰ many others provided their workers with nothing more than the conventional bonus at Chinese New Year. The Nanking Government's Factory Act of 1929 urged upon employers an enlightened attitude towards the provision of welfare benefits for their employees, but it would seem with little effect. Likewise, some labour unions at various times sought to offer welfare and educational facilities to their members, but after 1927 the unfavourable disposition of the authorities towards the unions and the need for them to exist at least in part clandestinely discouraged this kind of initiative. By and large, in hard times the Chinese worker was without recourse.

In the regulation of working conditions in industry legislation played little part, but it is necessary to review here briefly the legislative initiatives taken ostensibly to improve conditions of labour in the factories. China's first Factory Act was that promulgated by the Peking Government in 1923 as a result of a campaign for legislation mounted by organised labour, and insistence in Geneva that China should take a first step at least towards implementation of standards agreed upon at the first International Labour Conference in Washington in 1919. Essentially, the Act provided that in factories employing one hundred workers or more, and in factories where dangerous work was carried on, the employment of boys under 10 and girls under 12 should be prohibited, while boys under 17 and girls under 18 should be permitted only light work. Juvenile workers were to work no more than eight hours per day, with three days of rest per month, and no night work allowed, while adults were to work no more than ten hours per day, with at least two rest days per month. Other provisions related to the

manner of payment of wages - though not surprisingly no minimum wage was specified - the payment of compensation upon the death of a worker, the provision of facilities for education at the factories, and various precautions against industrial accidents and disease and to ensure the health of workers, including arrangements for maternity leave.¹¹¹ Quite apart from the fact that application of the Act only to those factories with one hundred workers or more omitted consideration of the vast majority of enterprises, where fewer than this number were employed, the actual terms of the Act were so far in advance of what could be expected to be immediately enforceable within the context of a capitalist economy as to invite wholesale evasion on the part of employers. Indeed, as the Act neither contained, nor was followed by, any provision for the establishment of an inspectorate to compel compliance, it is certainly possible to question the commitment of the Peking Government to the principle of industrial regulation. A survey of labour conditions conducted by officers of the British consular service in various cities in 1924 revealed that most employers claimed not even to be aware of the legislation.¹¹²

In South China, the Kuomintang at its First National Congress in 1924 agreed in principle to a programme of legislation providing for freedom of association, the right to strike, an eight hour day and a six day week, regulation of the employment of women and children, unemployment insurance, an old-age pension, maternity leave, and compensation for sickness, accident, and death.¹¹³ Little seems to have been done by the Canton Government to implement these proposals, however. At its Second Congress in 1926, the Kuomintang re-affirmed its commitment to this programme, and added to it a call for arbitration courts to settle labour disputes, legal holidays with pay, regulation of apprenticeship, the abolition of contract labour, improved housing and sanitation, and provision of education for workers and their children.¹¹⁴ Implementation of these measures, though, was now apparently explicitly deferred until the Nationalist revolution had been achieved.¹¹⁵

Elsewhere, legislation was enacted between 1926 and 1929 by local or provincial governments in Hupeh, in Shansi and Kansu, in Kwangtung, and in Wuhan. Described by Augusta Wagner as 'an odd chop suey', the provisions of these pieces of legislation included such items as the prohibition of child labour, limitation on the working day, maternity leave, and procedures for dismissal with compensation.¹¹⁶ Again, there is no evidence that any attempt was made to enforce them.¹¹⁷

It is not a little ironic that the most comprehensive effort to enact legislation on labour questions should come only after the Kuomintang had veered sharply to the right under the direction of Chiang Kai-shek, and the labour movement, except for the 'yellow unions' under the Government's tutelage, had been all but crushed. At the end of 1929 the Government in Nanking promulgated its Factory Act, Factory Inspection Act, and Trade Union Law, and with amendments these were formally passed in 1931. Over the next five years further amendments and enabling legislation were introduced, along with supplementary regulations on workers' education, health and safety hazards, and a minimum wage.¹¹⁸ The Factory Act itself was made to apply to all factories employing thirty workers or more, and contained provisions dealing essentially with women and child workers, apprenticeship, working hours, rest days and holidays, dismissal procedures, welfare facilities, safety precautions, compensation for injury, sickness and death, and the creation of 'Factory Councils' of workers' and employers' representatives whose function would be to improve relations between labour and management and facilitate production. Details of this legislation are given elsewhere,¹¹⁹ and it will be noted here only that although the Factory Act was acclaimed by many as a significant step forward, there were more than a few elements of the Act which could be seen as a two edged sword, cutting as much against the labourer as in his favour.¹²⁰

A Central Factory Inspection Bureau was established under the Ministry of Industries in 1933 in order that the conditions of the Act

could be enforced. Little had been achieved, however, when the Government in April 1934 decided that it could not hope to apply the act all at once, and resolved to apply it in five distinct stages, beginning with the most urgent requirements such as the keeping of factory records, the reporting of accidents, the supervision of apprentices, and the banning of women and juveniles from dangerous work.¹²¹ By May 1936, when the Government reported that this first stage had been successfully completed, Augusta Wagner found that all that had been accomplished was the sporadic reporting of industrial accidents, and the allocation by only a few of the municipal and provincial governments which Nanking had charged with the task of inspection of money for that purpose.¹²² With the outbreak of war scarcely more than a year later, the Factory Act became to all intents and purposes a dead letter.

What was the state of organised labour in China during the period under consideration? No attempt will be made here to reconstruct the history of the labour movement in the 1920's and 1930's, but it may be appropriate to recall in the most general terms the main features of its development.

According to Nym Wales, whose study published in 1945 was the first attempt at a comprehensive review of the subject in any Western language,¹²³ it is possible to discern five distinct stages in the progress of the Chinese labour movement between 1919 and 1941. The first stage dates from January 1922, when the consciousness which had been forming among working people since the demonstrations in the wake of May 4th, 1919, erupted in the Hong Kong Seamen's Strike. This strike, lasting over fifty days and at its high point involving some 50,000 workers in all branches of industry, commerce and domestic service, resulted in a significant victory for the seamen over the British authorities in Hong Kong. Riding on the crest of this wave, the Communist Party's Labour Secretariat organised in May of 1922 the First National Labour Congress,

and in May and June China's railways were paralysed by a series of strikes in which working men were again victorious. Later in the year other strikes occurred in manufacturing industry in various cities, and in some mines. This initial period of activity ended early in 1923 when the Peking-Hankow railway workers came into conflict with Wu Pei-fu while attempting to organise a general union of workers on the railway. The bloody suppression of the railway workers' union heralded a more general hardening of attitude on the part of the authorities, and in most of China the union movement was driven underground for the next two years.

Between February of 1923 and May of 1925, labour continued to organise in secret, except in Canton where in January 1924 the creation by the Kuomintang at its First National Congress of a Labour Department under the direction of Liao Chung-k'ai gave rise to a more favourable climate for union activity. Throughout China strikes occurred spasmodically during this period, especially after 1923 in Shanghai. In early May of 1925 the Second National Labour Congress was held in Canton, convened not by the Labour Secretariat but by four major unions - the General Union of Railway Workers, the Chinese Seamen's Union, the Hanyehp'ing Labour Union, and the Canton General Labour Union.

It is suggested that the steady organisational work undertaken during the years 1923 to 1925 prepared the way for the sudden upsurge of militant union activity in the years 1925 to 1927. The third phase in the history of the labour movement began with the fatal shooting of Chinese workers and students by police of the International Settlement in Shanghai on May 30th, 1925. The killing of these demonstrators, who had in turn been protesting the murder of a local labour leader by a Japanese foreman at one of the Nai-gai Wata Kaisha cotton mills, aroused strong sentiment among working people and provoked a wave of strikes and demonstrations unprecedented even in China's turbulent recent history. A Shanghai General Labour Union arose to direct the protest movement in that city. In June, further violent confrontations

occurred between British forces and Chinese demonstrators in Hankow and Canton, resulting in the Hong Kong-Canton strike and boycott against British interests which probably involved over 200,000 workers at its height, and reduced Hong Kong to a standstill from June of 1925 to October of 1926. In May of 1926 a Third National Labour Congress was convened in Canton, this time by the All China General Union, a powerful umbrella organisation which had emerged out of discussions at the previous year's Congress. In July, Kuomintang troops embarked on the Northern Expedition to re-unify China and bring it under the authority of a government of the United Front, and within six months were at the Yangtze. In Hankow in January 1927 a worker's rising preceded the occupation and retrocession of the British Concession. On March 21st the strike and uprising began in Shanghai which would lead to the seizure of that city by working people prior to its occupation by forces of the United Front. For a time, administration of the city was in the hands of the Shanghai General Labour Union, prompting declaration of a state of emergency in the International Settlement where the fear of a more general revolution was at its peak. Only two weeks after troops of the Northern Expedition had arrived to reinforce the rebels, however, the split between the right and left wings of the Kuomintang which had been growing since the death of Sun Yat-sen broke irretrievably into the open as Kuomintang troops under Chiang Kai-shek's command turned on Communists and labour activists on April 12th, and with the aid of the underworld annihilated much of the radical leadership in Shanghai. Chiang Kai-shek had aligned himself with the Chinese and foreign business community, and cast the die for a confrontation between himself and the Communists which would ultimately be resolved only in 1949.

Although the first Pan-Pacific Trade Union Congress was held in Hankow in May, and the Fourth National Labour Congress in the same city in June, the tide of revolution was already in retreat, and labour unions in Canton and other Chinese cities were in the grip of a

purge similar to that which had been experienced in Shanghai. On July 15th, the break occurred between left wing members of the Kuomintang and members of the Communist Party in the Government at Wuhan which very soon resulted in the collapse of that government, leaving Chiang Kai-shek and his Government at Nanking virtually unopposed.

It is convenient, therefore, to regard the fourth stage in the development of the labour movement as having begun in the summer of 1927, and having lasted until the outbreak of war with Japan in 1937. The Kuomintang, now under the control of Chiang Kai-shek, lost little time in appointing 'reorganisation committees' whose purpose was to intimidate organised labour, and encourage the growth of so-called 'yellow unions', which would be closely supervised by the Government. The Labour Union Law of 1929/31, and the Collective Agreement Law of 1930/32 further limited the prerogatives of the unions.

Nonetheless, organised labour did not immediately succumb to this pressure. A decision taken at the Communist Party's Conference in August 1927 reversed the cautious policy of Chen Tu-hsiu and sanctioned armed uprisings by industrial workers. Subsequently, short-lived revolts took place in Hankow and Changsha, among other cities, while a major coup in Canton on December resulted in the creation of the Canton Commune, which managed to put up armed resistance to Kuomintang troops for three days. In Shanghai, a major strike led by Teng Chung-hsia in December is said to have involved 100,000 textile workers, but this too was defeated. While the Secretariat of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Congress was able to meet in Shanghai in February 1928, a full Conference could not be held until August 1929, and then took place in Vladivostock. Similarly, the Fifth National Labour Congress, with reduced numbers in attendance, met in Shanghai in secret in November 1929; this would be the last such meeting until the Sixth Congress met in Harbin in 1948.

In the last half of 1930, the Communist Party, under the influence of Li Li-san, initiated another series of uprisings in the cities which all ended in failure, showing conclusively that the moment for a successful urban revolt had been lost. Li Li-san was demoted, and the All China General Union was eliminated in a purge which coincided with the early campaigns of extermination mounted by the Kuomintang against the Communists in Kiangsi. The Communist Party Central Committee retreated from its secret quarters in Shanghai to Kiansi, a move which was to be symbolic of a new emphasis on the role of the peasantry in the revolution. After 1931, it can reasonably be concluded with Nym Wales that there was no 'organised' labour movement in China, though working people, especially in Shanghai, showed tenacity in mounting strikes throughout the depression period in defiance of government repression. Some leadership was provided by individual communists, and where possible even the 'yellow' unions were used in an ongoing struggle with employers.

The fifth stage in the history of the Chinese labour movement could be considered to have commenced with the outbreak of war with Japan in 1937. In the International Settlement in Shanghai some effort was made by agents of the Nanking Government of Wang Ching-wei to mobilise labour against British and American employers in particular between 1939 and 1941, while the Kuomintang in Chungking took a renewed interest in labour unions as possible implements of control. The Chungking Government in 1941 enacted legislation requiring compulsory participation for certain categories of workers in unions whose object appeared to be the better prosecution of the war effort. Throughout the Communist held areas in north China, unions of working people came to be commonplace, though because there were few large cities in Communist hands only a small percentage of union members were engaged at modern industrial processes. This period is perhaps of least significance in the development of the labour movement because of the peculiar set of circumstances which prevailed.

From this brief review, it will be clear that the time of most active growth for the labour movement, when it achieved its greatest measure of success, was prior to 1927. According to Chesneaux, among the outstanding features of the movement in these years were the growth in workers' capacity for discipline, in their class consciousness and solidarity, in their willingness to intervene in the political struggles of the day, especially in south and central China, and the tangible progress they made in improving their standard of living through strike action, as well as in commanding a greater measure of respect from employers in their dealings with them. Chesneaux attributes the defeat of the movement in 1927 to the numerical weakness and inexperience of the working class, the presence of 'marginal elements' in the lower ranks, the continued existence of some guild traditions and regionalist attitudes, and the adoption of the strategy of the United Front.¹²⁴

Industrial Work of the YMCA

In 1841 in London, the religious fervour and ambition of a young apprentice, George Williams, led him to found an organisation dedicated to providing young men with an opportunity for Christian fellowship, recreation, and self-improvement. Within ten years, the Young Men's Christian Association movement had caught the public imagination, and branches of the YMCA existed in cities throughout Britain and had begun to be established in the United States and Canada. In due course, the idea was formed among the Association's American personnel that they had a mission to accomplish in China, and after some limited success had been achieved elsewhere in the Far East the first organiser, D.W. Lyon, was sent to China in 1895. By 1920 the Association had 'city' and 'student' branches throughout Eastern China, and was firmly established in its religious and educational work, with a principal ministry among the more affluent youth of the Treaty Ports.¹

The beginnings of YMCA industrial work in China are to be found in the continuation of service to working men, now back in China, whom the YMCA had done much to help in various ways during the war in France. This 'returned labourer work' picked up toward the end of 1919 as thousands of workers passed through the major Treaty Ports on their way home. Many were possessed of little money, and were uncertain of their future plans, and the YMCA undertook to offer advice to those who sought it, to write letters for the illiterate, to arrange introductions for those looking for work, to assist others to secure back pay from the government or medical attention from local hospitals, and generally to help the returned labourers settle back into society at a time of considerable political uncertainty.² Meetings were held at which lectures were given on matters of health and hygiene, thrift, and 'moral and practical topics', and some attempt was made to transmit a religious message to the labourers, although "...those who have come to Shanghai seem to be of a roving disposition and uninterested in our efforts to get them into groups for educational work and Bible study..."³

By 1922 work for the returned labourers was rapidly nearing its completion, but out of this work there had evolved in the meantime an interest in the plight of urban factory workers as a whole. In the words of one YMCA official,

"...we can not wait. The labourers and the employers are counting upon us to go ahead. More recently students in government schools are asking why it is that as a Christian organisation we are confining [sic] very largely to the more favored classes and not serving those who need our service most!"⁴

Discussions were held with employers in Shanghai and elsewhere, and some were found to be sympathetic to the YMCA's desire to bring a new morality to the relationship between employers and employed.⁵ In November 1920 'extension work' was begun in seven factories on the Shanghai side of the Whangpoo River, while the erection of a large mat shed on the other side of the river brought the YMCA programme to the factory workers of Pootung.⁶ In the factories, weekly meetings were held, beginning about 7 pm, or whenever the factory closed.

"...those who attend are taught the singing of patriotic songs and hymns and are given short talks on some inspirational theme."⁷

After half an hour of this communal activity, those assembled would break up into small groups for 'club work' or study, a central feature of the educational effort being literacy classes conducted mainly by volunteer teachers.

After the erection of the Pootung Hut, meetings were held there every night of a 'semi educational and semi entertainment nature'⁸, and an average of almost a thousand workers a night was said to attend. There was also a free day school for workers' children, with an initial registration of about sixty, a reading room, a letter-writing service for the illiterate, and religious meetings on Sundays. Some months after the Pootung project had begun, the highly inflammable 'hut' burned down⁹ and the YMCA was obliged to seek quarters in rented

accommodation in the main street of Pootung, which effectively reduced the size of meetings that could be held to an attendance of 250. Nonetheless the programme continued, and was augmented by the provision of evening classes for workers and day classes for their children, and the establishment of a regular clinic at the Pootung centre,¹⁰ under the direction of the Chinese woman doctor Dr. Mary Stone. One immediate concern of the clinic was to vaccinate as many workers as possible against smallpox, scarlet fever and diphtheria, which were all of epidemic proportions in the community. The clinic was said to be vaccinating an average of nearly one hundred persons per day.¹¹

Elsewhere in Shanghai, the educational programme was pursued where funds and facilities permitted, and evening classes given by the YMCA in a hut in Hongkew, at Kashing Road School, and at Hwei Han School in Hong Kong Road were said to have enrolment of 57, 28, and 164 respectively in 1921.¹²

One other aspect of the YMCA's industrial work in Shanghai in this early stage was the holding of an 'industrial seminar', a course of study on industrial questions, for an hour and a half each week, presided over by persons locally available and with a degree of expertise on the subject. Among those called in to help were F.C. Remer of St. John's University, D.H. Kulp of Shanghai College, and Agatha Harrison of the Industrial Department of the YMCA.¹³ The seminar was arranged for the benefit of the eight regular industrial secretaries, and such other staff for whom it was felt it might be useful. It was apparent that the YMCA itself as yet had no personnel of its own with the experience to undertake the training of its industrial staff. The seminar ran from the autumn of 1921 to the summer of 1922.¹⁴

In Wuhan, work similar to that being undertaken in Shanghai was launched in 1920 under the direction of the YMCA secretary, C.C. Shedd, and it would appear that some industrial work may also have been embarked upon in Tientsin, Tsinan and other cities, though no record seems to have survived of this.¹⁵

As the industrial programme brought officials of the YMCA closer than ever before to the lives and concerns of ordinary working people, those involved began to reflect more carefully on the role they should be playing. As one senior secretary put the question,

'How can America help China to utilize our American experience at its best in conserving human welfare as modern methods of production are introduced into Chinese industry?'¹⁶

This official, E.C. Jenkins, felt that the YMCA in its programme should undertake:-

- "a) A study of the factors in the old industrial and social life of the Chinese which would show the basis upon which a modern industrial life would probably be built.
- b) A study of typical cities and practically all modern industrial plants in order to form a base line for future generations [sic] as well as to ascertain the needs of the present.
- c) Experiments in chosen centers and under typical conditions [which] would show how the human element may be conserved.
- d) A wide-spread propaganda among government agencies, chambers of commerce, groups of employers and students, in order to inform them of western progress in industry of the best type.
- e) [To] prepare literature and hold conferences to win co-operation and foster the application of the best principles to industrial production, possibly including studies of co-operation, industrial democracy, credit systems, efficiency, engineering, and profit-sharing."¹⁷

Indeed, elements of this plan were subsequently put into effect over the next fifteen years. Central to the success of a dynamic industrial programme, in the view of this observer, was the acquisition of a Chinese director and an American expert who would jointly exercise the leadership required.

In putting the case for a full-time industrial expert from abroad who could train and assist a future Chinese director, Jenkins was

echoing an appeal which had already been made to the International Committee of the YMCA in New York by William Lockwood¹⁸ and by David Yui,¹⁹ General Secretary of the YMCA in China, and which would be made again by Sherwood Eddy during his visit to China in 1922.²⁰ There was a general consensus that in approaching the problem of relationships in industry, the YMCA in China was treading on new and dangerous ground, that the circumstances required a man of experience who would yet not be a paternalist, or as Lockwood saw it,

"...a man...well balanced, not a fadist, warm hearted and with real religion, adaptable to new situations, able to work with others, without race prejudice, a student."²¹

By 1922 the National Committee of the YMCA in China had acquired a highly effective chief Secretary of its Industrial Department in M. Thomas Tchou, a graduate in Engineering of the University of Glasgow, and it would be during his short tenure that the Department would accomplish much of what it was to achieve. The matter of the foreign adviser was never really satisfactorily solved, however, despite special funding made available by the Rockefeller Foundation and an abortive attempt to bring an expert from America in 1926, and it is interesting to speculate whether the presence of a foreign expert would have made very much difference to the nature of the work undertaken or the measure of success attained.²²

Two major steps forward were taken in 1922. At the National Christian Conference in Hangchow in May three recommendations were approved relating to standards in industrial life. The passage of these resolutions effectively committed the new National Christian Council to an ongoing consideration of industrial problems and the challenge they posed to the Church in China. The growth of this commitment is considered elsewhere.²³ In the late autumn the American 'industrial evangelist' Sherwood Eddy came to China for a short visit at the invitation of the YMCA.

In preparation for Eddy's visit a questionnaire which he had composed was circulated in June to groups and individuals in the principal urban centres throughout China, including those where the YMCA had established local industrial departments. Among the cities from which information was drawn were Hankow, Shanghai, Tientsin, Chefoo, Changsha, Nanking, Tsinan, Tongshan, Peking, Wuhu, Chengchow, and Wusih.²⁴ The questionnaire asked for details of wages, hours and conditions of labour in various industries, unemployment, health problems, accidents, housing, the existing state of welfare work, the activity of trade unions, the extent of democratic control in industry, and the incidence of police repression in labour disputes. Information was also sought on the position of women and child workers, the nature of any labour regulations in force, and on broader social questions such as poverty, practices like child marriage, prostitution, and slavery, the influence of traditional Chinese religions, and signs of awakening social consciousness among students, women and other groups.²⁵

The answers obtained varied considerably in quality in accordance, it may be supposed, with the level of analysis of the different respondents, usually local YMCA secretaries, and with the methods used to gather information. In Wuhan, for example, it was decided to bring together "...a few of the most thoughtful people..." to discuss the questions raised. Apart from the US Consul-General, those present at the three hour meeting were:-

"...two railway men (...a locomotive superintendent, and a construction engineer), the head of a flour mill and also a cotton mill, the head of the Independent News Agency and also representative for the Weekly Review of the Far East and also the China Press, the head of the social service work of the Hankow YMCA and a man who has been closely connected with the settlement of a recent rickshaw strike and the accompanying complications, and three of us connected with the industrial work of this centre.... Then too we had with us the one clergyman who is really getting next to the industrial people..."²⁶

It is apparent that in Wuhan, at least, no attempt was made to consult the rank and file working man directly, and it may be suspected that this omission was repeated elsewhere. Furthermore, in another case, that of Chefoo, a twelve page report was submitted which contained almost no account of wages paid in local industries.²⁷ Insofar as some systematic comparison of wages and cost of living was central to the purpose of the survey, in that it would provide a clearer indication of the scope of the problem with which the YMCA was endeavouring to come to grips, this too was a significant omission.

The information received in response to the questionnaire was edited by Thomas Tchou of the YMCA's National Committee, and made available in December 1922 as a typed manuscript, 'Report on Industrial and Social Survey', copies of which went into limited circulation.²⁸ It is not perhaps surprising that the survey revealed a consistent pattern of very low wages, and long hours and appalling conditions of labour among urban working people, varying only slightly in degree according to the nature of the work performed and the geographic location. Tchou estimated that 40% of workers in Shanghai lived below the poverty line, while in North China and the interior cities the figure was put at 50%. Ministering to the needs of this vast army of underprivileged workers were various 'social service organisations' such as the YM and YWCA with their branches, the Yangtzepoo Social Centre and the Nantao Christian Institute in Shanghai, and the Chefoo Christian Women Workers' Society. Little had yet been done by individual firms toward the provision of social welfare schemes for their workers, though the Commercial Press and the Yangtze Engineering Works in Shanghai were exceptions to this general rule, and the Chung Hwa Book Company claimed to be considering a welfare scheme. In Chefoo Christian influence in the hair net and embroidery industries was said to have brought about a paid day off on Sundays in many factories. Throughout China it was found that larger factories were more likely to offer some educational or medical facilities to their employees than smaller concerns.

While Tchou concluded that more employers could be expected in future to recognise their social responsibility towards their workers, he doubted whether the workers themselves would accept any further arbitrary intervention.

"...labor leaders are beginning to resent these paternalistic and charitable schemes and there is already an increasing feeling that employees should have a voice in determining the kind of welfare work that is to be performed amongst them and that they consider as their due."²⁹

That most YMCA officials were themselves committed to an industrial programme that would be essentially paternal took Thomas Tchou some time to grasp.

Shortly after his arrival in China, Sherwood Eddy addressed a meeting of industrial staff and senior officers of the YMCA urging implementation of 'a progressive program of education and welfare work' in the spirit of the principles adopted at the National Christian Conference and ratified by the YMCA.³⁰ He subsequently spent three months visiting some twenty Chinese cities, holding evangelical meetings "...chiefly among government students and non-Christian young men...", preaching industrial reform, and seeking to study conditions in factories and workshops across the country.³¹ Eddy too found "...a growing spirit of unrest among the masses...", an attitude "...changing from passive subjection to resentment..."³².

In the spring and summer of 1923 Thomas Tchou, National Industrial Secretary of the Chinese YMCA, made an extended visit to North America and Europe in order to study industrial conditions, paying particular attention to the workings of the co-operative movement and to experimental housing projects for factory workers. Tchou's tour embraced the United States, Britain, France, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia and Denmark. Apart from having the

opportunity to observe the plight of the working class in a different setting, Tchou was able to have discussions with a number of prominent personalities concerned with social reform, among them John D. Rockefeller in the United States, and Sebohm Rowntree, George Bernard Shaw and Arthur Greenwood in England, and it may be supposed that these conversations helped to mould Tchou's perspective on what was desirable, or possible, in China.³³ Tchou returned to China with heightened conviction as to the necessity of creating public opinion in favour of industrial legislation, and of evolving a new economic order based on "...the Christian principles of justice, brotherly love, and service."³⁴

"The result should be an industrial and economic structure of which co-operation and goodwill shall form the cornerstone and in which distinctions based on wealth, class or race should not hamper the full realisation of co-operative democracy embracing the economic and political as well as social life of the country."³⁵

At the YMCA's annual Convention at Canton in October, resolutions were passed broadly supporting the application of these principles in the Association's industrial work.³⁶

Towards the end of the year Tchou spent a month visiting a number of cities in north and central China with a view to reporting on his trip abroad and stimulating the industrial welfare efforts of local YWCA secretaries.³⁷ In each city meetings were held with Christian laymen and officials, students and employers, very occasionally with workers present, to discuss the needs of the district. In many cases there was felt, perhaps not surprisingly, to be a dearth of information, and study committees were therefore set up to gather information and make specific recommendations as to what might be done locally. In Peking, J.B. Tayler undertook to prepare several pamphlets for the Commission on Church and Industry of the National Christian Council, and to try to interest the various Christian colleges and universities in the industrial question. Staff in all the centres visited expressed the

need for published material ranging from general texts on the industrial revolution and on Chinese economic history to more specific treatises on the methodology of social research, the organisation of co-operatives, and the proposed role of the Church and the Christian agencies in promoting a new economic order in China. It was decided that an appropriate method of transmitting information for the guidance of local committees would be the publication and distribution of short pamphlets on the subjects of most pressing concern, each with a list of works for further reference. To supplement this service it was decided to implement an 'Industrial Bulletin' which would give news of current progress from time to time, in the event put out under the auspices of the National Christian Council. Finally, there emerged out of Tchou's consultations with secretaries in the field a plan for the convening of local industrial welfare conferences in 1924, regional or district conferences in 1925, and a national conference in 1926.³⁸

During the next two years, from 1923 to 1925 when the focus nationally was on the campaign to reform child labour conducted jointly by several Christian agencies, the YMCA's own record of achievement on the industrial front was somewhat mixed. While the National Industrial Committee of the YMCA proceeded with the dissemination of information, and an industrial seminar was held as part of the Association's summer school at Kuling in 1924, efforts to persuade the provincial governments of Chekiang and Kiangsu to pass legislation restricting child labour resulted only in Kiangsu promulgating such a law - which in the event was never enforced - and plans to invite the Americans Sherwood Eddy, Harry F. Ward and Kirby Page, and the Englishman Seebohm Rowntree to China for a period of several months lecturing and study do not appear to have reached fruition.³⁹ By mid-1925 the YMCA had begun industrial work of one kind or another in sixteen Chinese cities, in fourteen of which activity was continuing.⁴⁰ There were thirteen YMCA secretaries with full-time responsibility for industrial programmes, and ten with part-time responsibility.⁴¹

Yet despite this apparent flurry of activity the YMCA still by 1925 did not seem to have come to grips with the problem of how to tackle the appalling economic and social consequences of unrestricted capitalism. A typical industrial programme in one Chinese city apparently consisted of "...1000 Character classes for illiterates, citizenship classes for literates, boys' groups, Bible classes, educational lectures and educational motion pictures showing industries in other lands..."⁴² While other staff was recruited to help carry the programme, the function of the local industrial secretary was :-

"...to keep up to date on actual conditions, help plan new experiments, where necessary help enlist lay leadership, and cultivate the owners of the shops, as well as influential workmen..."⁴³

In a review of the YMCA industrial work thus far Thomas Tchou in July 1925 recognised that among the weak points in progress to date were that the Association had not really developed a programme specifically adapted to the need of working people, that its relations with employers' associations and labour unions needed to be clarified, that its existing channels of approach to workers were not satisfactory, and that more attention would have to be paid in future to the relief of economic pressure on the working class.⁴⁴ Tchou also observed that the work was too thinly spread, and that lack of staff inhibited further development. As a panacea for some of these deficiencies Tchou urged the YMCA to press ahead with the promotion of co-operatives for consumption, production, banking and marketing, savings, insurance, and loan societies, and vocational training facilities to increase workers' skill levels and earning power. More effort would be needed to bring about legislation to reform working conditions. The question of how to create a Christian social order in China was again raised, and while no ready answers were offered it was felt that the holding of industrial seminars for university students, with lectures and the opportunity for practical experience (presumably managerial experience) in industry, might focus⁴⁵ attention on the problem. It is apparent that by this time

the issue of the people's livelihood in its broadest sense had begun to occupy the minds of some of the YMCA's industrial staff, and Tchou suggests that the Association would do well to experiment towards the development of three separate 'industrial' programmes - one for workers in modern industry, one for handicraft workers, and one for rural workers - and to think how these might be correlated.⁴⁶

At a time when welfare work as a whole had received a significant setback from the failure of the campaign to put an end to child labour, one project which did come to fruition was the YMCA's 'Model Village'. The completion of the Model Village followed closely upon publication by Thomas Tchou, the YMCA Industrial Secretary, of a report on workers' housing in Shanghai.

This survey, 'Outlines of Report on Housing and Social Conditions Among Industrial Workers in Shanghai'⁴⁷ was based on a study conducted over a period of eight months by several YMCA workers in Hongkew, Chapei, Ferry Road District, Yantzepoo, and Pootung areas of Shanghai. While affirming that no accurate statistics on the average income of Shanghai workers were available, the author suggests that the average income of a working family would not exceed \$20Mex., and that of this one-sixth, or not more than \$3.33 would be available for housing. Many families would spend much less. Prevailing rates of interest payable on property meant that the most expensive house the average family could afford to buy, or to make payments on, would cost \$266, while the cheapest houses available were over \$700, the key factor being the price of land, often valued at more than \$4,000 per mou. This predicament compelled families to share accommodation and to tolerate deplorable living conditions.

Tchou found that workers' accommodation fell into five broad categories. The best available was in the form of rows of two-storey terraced tenements, built principally of brick with tile roofs and

separated by narrow passages. Each house had a small rear kitchen but no toilet facilities. Rent was from \$6 to \$9 per month, making it necessary for from two to four families to live in every house, and usually affording each family from 100 to 200 square feet of private floor area.

A second category of accommodation was the single storey house, renting for a sum between \$2 and \$4 per month, which would be subdivided by means of the improvisation of horizontal shelves up to eight feet wide on which would live one entire family, while perhaps two or three more families would live on the ground floor. These houses might frequently be built of wood, with mud floors, and were "...as a rule situated in the neighbourhood of cesspools, graveyards, foul creeks or manure wharfs..."⁴⁸

A third type of accommodation was the hostel or dormitory, usually for single men, run privately. Workers paid from 30 to 80 cents a month for a shelf on which to sleep and leave their things. As well as factory workers, dormitories often housed ricksha, wharf and wheelbarrow coolies, as many as twenty men occupying a single house. Tchou found that the dormitories were "...invariably infested by vermin..."⁴⁹ and, where no women or children were present, that gambling, opium smoking and drinking were common.

Houses and dormitories built and owned by factory firms and rented to their employees formed a fourth category of accommodation. One firm which had done much toward the provision of living quarters for its workers was the Japanese Naigai Wata Kaisha cotton mill, which made available 1400 two-storey houses at \$4 per month and 500 one-storey houses at \$2 per month. It was found that in order to save money, however, workers had divided and subdivided the accommodation with beams and shelves until it resembled the 'overcrowded steerage quarters on a Chinese river boat'.⁵⁰ This was evidently no satisfactory solution.

Tchou found that the worst form of accommodation of all was the 'mud hut', colonies of which surrounded Shanghai housing the several hundred thousand Northerners, or 'Kong-Peh' people among the city's population. These people had come to Shanghai from the depressed rural hinterland of northern Kiangsu to seek work. Initially without friends or relatives to help them, and regarded as a source of the cheapest labour for the worst jobs, they could not afford even to share the accommodation of the ordinary worker. Instead, they built huts of bamboo covered with mud and straw, and with thatch for the roof. The building materials for one hut were estimated to cost between \$12 and \$30, which would have to be borrowed from friends, or more probably from a loan shop at an annual rate of interest of anything from 50 to 95 per cent. In addition, the occupier of a mud hut would have to share with his immediate neighbours the rental of the land on which their huts were built. Tchou cites the case of twenty-one families who were obliged to pay a rent of \$200 per year for the $\frac{1}{2}$ mou of land on which their mud huts stood. The contract ran for 5 years; if during that time the tenants wished to terminate the contract, they were obliged to pay five years' rent to the landlord, while if the landlord wished to end the agreement he needed to pay the tenants only one year's rent. It is hard to imagine tenants exacting compensation from landlords, and Tchou observes that as the value of land rose the mud hut dwellers were pushed further and further out by a process of development fueled by their very presence.⁵¹

Mud huts were particularly prone to flooding in bad weather, and to fire, seven hundred huts having been burned down in one month in 1925 in Chapei alone. Furthermore, the huts were considered dangerous by the authorities of the International Settlement, and some four hundred of them had been burned by the Municipal Police in October 1925 on the ground that they did not conform to the building regulations of the Settlement.

Common to all forms of housing for workers, Tchou found overcrowding, the lack of a clean water supply, the lack of adequate sanitation, of facilities for recreation or education, or any opportunity for a dignified life. Working class communities "...usually receive no attention from the outside or the authorities, until some crime has been committed, which however would only be an occasion to inflict punishment..."⁵². Observing that it was an age of change for China, Tchou recalled the Northern worker who had pointed to a \$20,000 silk warehouse and remarked:-

"How well that go-down is built for the housing of goods and what awful quarters we have for housing men."⁵³

Some months after the appearance of the housing report, Thomas Tchou published a second pamphlet, 'Outlines of Plan for Model Villages for Working People'.⁵⁴ The pamphlet urged the construction of an experimental village which would meet many of the criticisms of existing workers' accommodation, and serve as an example to municipal authorities:-

"...through this means to usher in a movement to promote a new social order based on the principles of brotherhood, mutual service, goodwill, cleanliness, economy, temperance and purity."⁵⁵

The plan called for thirty-two houses to be built, together with a social centre and a children's playground on three mou of land no more than half a mile from an area of major industrial employment. There were to be several types of house to suit families of different sizes and different incomes, but all with separate kitchenette and separate toilet room. Construction was to be of wood and bamboo covered with plaster, with tiled roofs as a precaution against fire. Adequate clean water supply would be provided, and there would be strict regulations governing the disposal of waste. The community centre, with an auditorium large enough to accommodate the entire inhabitants of the village, would afford facilities for recreation, for the holding of literacy and other

classes, and for a regular clinic. It was understood that it would be through the community centre that the YMCA would carry on its work in the village. Also envisaged were a consumers co-operative society to keep the villagers supplied with daily necessities, and a co-operative savings society or bank.

In order to prevent profiteering it was felt to be desirable that the inhabitants should buy over their properties within a definite period of time, so that ultimately the village would be self-owned and co-operatively governed. Tchou drew up an arrangement for the gradual transfer of administrative power from those who put up the money for the project to the inhabitants themselves. From the YMCA's point of view,

"...this plan would have the advantages of avoiding the odium of capitalistic control or selfish landlordism and of giving a fair opportunity of rendering altruistic social service through the social center without the motive of its program being misunderstood."⁵⁶

By the autumn of 1926 sufficient funds had been raised to enable construction of the model village to begin on a one acre site in the centre of the factory district of Pootung, across the Whangpoo River from Shanghai proper. While YMCA secretaries were now speaking in terms of fifty-four⁵⁷ or sixty⁵⁸ houses, initially only twelve houses were built, paid for by organisations and individuals - among them the American Friends Service Committee⁵⁹, the Shanghai Rotary Club, and the Commercial Press - while the British-American Tobacco Company provided the land.⁶⁰ Within two months the village was ready for occupation, and a Chinese YMCA secretary, 'a Christian college graduate'⁶¹, installed with his family in one of the houses ready to direct the programme of the social centre. One senior YMCA official expressed the hope that the experiment would lead to the building of 'thousands' of other such villages throughout China.⁶²

To qualify for consideration for a house in the model village, a prospective tenant had to have an income of less than \$30 per month, a legitimate profession, and a reliable guarantor.⁶³ He would then be accepted or rejected by the village board.⁶⁴ If accepted, the tenant would be required to deposit \$3Mex. with the YMCA, and would be responsible for the monthly rent of \$3 and for the payment of taxes. Sub-letting was not permitted, and the tenant had to seek the YMCA secretary's approval before changing the 'inside structure' of his house. Among regulations governing life in the village were those prohibiting opium smoking, gambling and 'other immoral practices', and keeping contraband, and requiring tenants to keep their houses clean and to be within the village gates by ten o'clock at night.⁶⁵ The scale of repayments, allowing organisations which had put up the money annual interest of 5% on their investment, provided for ownership of the houses by the tenants after a period of fifteen years.⁶⁶

While the model village did show what could be done to provide somewhat better housing for workers, it is clear that YMCA officials saw it also as an excellent opportunity to reach a working class audience with its four-fold programme of religious, educational, physical and social activities. Personal evangelism, Bible storytelling, small discussion group meetings, and lectures - once a month - are described as being the outstanding features of the religious programme.⁶⁷ One obstacle in the way of successful evangelisation was the high rate of illiteracy among workers, which prevented them from reading even the simple Chinese language Christian tracts which were the stock in trade of the missionary movement. By 1935, after the size of the village had doubled and after some shift of population in and out must have taken place, only three families were reported to have taken the decision to become Christian.⁶⁸

As might be expected, the popular education programme was much more successful. For workers' children there was a primary school, known also as the industrial or trade school, which combined

elementary education with practical work. For two hours of class time each day boys would be taught to make paper flowers, for example, while girls would be trained to sew and to make handicrafts. Raw materials were supplied by the YMCA, which would endeavour to sell the work produced, dividing the profits among the children.⁶⁹ The academic programme of the primary school was reported in 1933 to include Chinese writing, Mandarin and simple arithmetic in the first three grades, with some English and conversation lessons in the fourth, fifth and sixth grades.⁷⁰ School fees were \$1 per term, rising in the 'thirties to \$2. Enrolment fluctuated according to political and economic circumstances, and is reported as 101 in 1928, over 200 in 1933, but only 53 in 1935.⁷¹ It is apparent from these figures that the primary school in the model village was very probably open to children living outside the village as well. In order to cope with the numbers involved, Association secretaries resorted to the interesting expedient of teaching older students to teach their younger fellows, and to clean and decorate their own classrooms, and a genuine spirit of self-help was said to prevail.⁷²

In addition to the children's primary school, the YMCA operated men's popular education classes and English language classes in the evening, and in conjunction with the YWCA popular education classes for women. By the mid-thirties there were also daily literacy classes for local ricksha coolies, actually held at the ricksha stations. The basis for literacy instruction was the text 'One Thousand Common Characters', published by the YMCA.⁷³ Texts for English language instruction are reported to have included 'Anglo-Chinese Commercial Conversation', and 'Workmen's Practical Conversation'.⁷⁴ Both the men's and women's popular education classes were free of charge to workers, while for the English language classes a 'nominal' tuition fee was payable. As with the primary school attendance fluctuated, and it is particularly noted that attendance would drop dramatically during strikes or labour disputes.⁷⁵ On the whole enrolment remained substantial, however, with figures for the men's classes at 31 in 1928 and 69 in 1935, and for the women's classes 45 in 1928 and 135 in 1935. Registration in

English classes in 1928 stood at 20.⁷⁶

Other aspects of the education programme were the provision of a reading room, open daily until late in the evening, where average attendance was said in 1928 to be about 60 persons per day, and the holding of regular 'citizenship' lectures. These lectures, given once a week, were on such subjects as 'The Three Principles' (of Sun Yat-sen), 'Thrift in Wedding and Funeral Ceremonies', 'The Responsibility of Parents and Children', and 'Life Problems'.⁷⁷ After the village had become well established, special Saturday classes were held in an attempt to reach out to the many thousands of 'street children' in Pootung who could not be encompassed within the village primary school.

"This Saturday gathering teaches them singing and games, helps them to recognise words, tells them stories to arouse their ambition to be good and useful."⁷⁸

Rounding out the YMCA's religious and educational work were the 'physical' and 'social' activities offered to villagers and the surrounding community. Among sports organised were boxing, football, volley ball, handball, and ping-pong, usually carried on under supervision in the playground adjacent to the village social centre. A dispensary supplied medicine to villagers free of charge, while injection and vaccination against cholera and other infectious diseases was undertaken at regular intervals. Lectures on health topics were reportedly given every two weeks, accompanied by slides, and special campaigns were mounted from time to time, using dramatic performances, placards and cartoons to dramatise particular problems of hygiene. Among social activities were performances offered by the village dramatic society and Chinese music club, movies and other social gatherings of various kinds. There was also said to be a study group which met twice a week to discuss issues of common interest.⁷⁹

In 1929 twelve new houses were added to the model village, bringing the total number to twenty-four, and the population in all

likelihood to a little under one hundred.⁸⁰ In 1930 a social centre resembling that in the model village, but without the surrounding houses, was built in Robison Road in the industrial western district of Shanghai, on land loaned by the Shanghai Power Company. Activities were promoted substantially similar to those at the Pootung centre, though apparently in 1933 a special institute or conference was held at Robison Road to bring together students from Great China, Fudan, Shanghai, St. John's, and Chiaotung universities with local labourers to discuss industrial problems which included factory inspection and the state of the labour movement.⁸¹

The model village evidently attracted considerable attention from company and municipal officials in many parts of China, and similar schemes were reportedly promoted in Nanking and Foochow.⁸² The most significant project undertaken to be based on the experience of the model village was the construction of four model villages by the government of the Municipality of Greater Shanghai in 1935 and 1936. The villages, at Chung Shan Road, Chi Mei Road, Pao Shan Road, and Tai Mo Bridge, were on a much greater scale than the YMCA village, accommodated a total of 1500 people, and were said to incorporate

"...not only modern and sanitary homes but facilities for child welfare, general recreation, bathing, the operation of co-operative stores and other conveniences."⁸³

As with the YMCA village, the focal point of community life was to be the 'social centre'. As these villages quickly filled up, the Greater Shanghai government made plans to erect social centres in other areas, with a view to inviting workers to erect their own houses around them, under municipal direction and using specified materials made available to them cheaply by the government.⁸⁴ It may be judged that this plan would not have had time to come properly to fruition before the outbreak of hostilities with Japan in mid-1937.

Though it may have inspired other people to take action, albeit action cut short by the force of political circumstances, the YMCA model

village was by no means an unqualified success. One critical visitor expressed his view of the experiment in these terms:-

'The only thing in the village that seemed good was the artesian well which brought up salt water. The whole thing is cheap, in the bad sense of that word. Walks are narrow and if a wheelbarrow came into the village with a heavy load, it would sink to the axle. The houses are already leaky and will not last [sic] at most 10 years when they will be wrecks. The lack of drainage makes it anything but model for sanitation.... Families selected.... Government entirely by YMCA.... In 20 years the Y will have six acres of valuable property.'⁸⁵

The YMCA self-justification in response to this criticism hinged upon the need to find solutions appropriate to the economic and political reality of China.

"The promoters of the enterprise... were anxious to conduct an experiment on a business basis; that is, they wished to build houses at a price which they could rent [sic] for an amount within the means of the laborers and at the same time earn a modest profit on their investment. This I understand they have succeeded in doing."⁸⁶

As it was, it may be observed that the fixing of monthly rent at \$3 at a time when many families could not afford to pay much more than half that amount for accommodation meant that no solution had yet been found to the problem of housing poorer workers. It is further apparent that the scope of the model village was quite modest, given that the building of its twenty-four houses and the operation of the social centres in Pootung and at Robison Road was the principal piece of industrial work undertaken by the YMCA during the period under consideration. The evidence suggests that during the eleven years of its existence no progress was made towards bringing the model village's administration into the hands of its inhabitants, as had been envisaged by Thomas Tchou, and it would appear that the YMCA remained in strict control throughout. Nor was it possible to see what effect full ownership of their property might have on the day to day life of the villagers, as in 1937, four years before the mortgages would have been completely paid up, the model village was bombed flat by the Japanese.

As a result of the personal intervention of Sherwood Eddy with John D. Rockefeller, the Christian forces in China were granted in 1924 a substantial sum of money with which to advance their industrial welfare work. This sum, \$25,000 gold per year for three years, was to be administered by the International Committee of the YMCA in New York through its National Committee in China. \$10,000 per year was allocated to the YMCA for the provision of two industrial secretaries and the development of 'model pieces of Christian social service in industry', \$5,000 to the National Christian Council of China for the promotion of 'right ideas and ideals among the churches' with regard to industry through promotion of literature, institutes and conferences, and \$5,000 to be set aside to allow an expert to prepare a report on the desirability of establishing an institute of economic and social research in China, and to assist with its setting up if deemed necessary.⁸⁸ Payments, through the medium of the YMCA, commenced in 1925.

With this money to hand earmarked specifically for industrial work, the YMCA began for the first time to pursue the practical question of whom they might bring to China as the foreign industrial expert so long regarded as essential to the success of their work in this sphere. After a search which lasted some months, Sherwood Eddy, acting in the United States on behalf of the Chinese YMCA, engaged G.T. Schwenning to go to China. Most recently Professor of Economics and Industry in the YMCA College at Springfield, Massachusetts, Schwenning had worked in mines and factories himself for six years before going on to study theology, sociology and economics at university, and later becoming an Association secretary with special responsibility for industrial workers in the New York Bowery and elsewhere. Described as

"...a sound progressive man, a valuable adviser and leader in industrial work, a man with high admiration for the Chinese people and a good man to work with in all relations."⁸⁹

Schwenning appeared to officials of the Association to be the ideal man for the job. He was furthermore just completing a doctoral dissertation for Clark University on the industrial work of the YMCA in various parts of the world, and therefore could be expected to have a firm overall grasp of the strengths and weaknesses of accomplishments to date.

Schwenning arrived in China in November 1925. By the end of December he was already to remark that the situation in China was not what he had been led to expect, that conditions were 'unspeakably bad', and that the prospects for serious investigation and for welfare work were severely limited.⁹⁰ The Chinese YMCA he censured for its 'timidity', the only person he exempted from this judgment being his Chinese colleague in the industrial work, M.T. Tchou, whom he nonetheless considered did not enjoy the confidence of the secretaries in the field.

At the end of March Schwenning resigned his position as Industrial Secretary of the Chinese YMCA, and returned with his wife to New York in April, having only twice been outside Shanghai during his four months in China, once on a short visit to Shantung, and another time on a hunting trip to Hangchow. Several factors were considered by Eugene Barnett to have been instrumental in determining Schwenning's sudden decision, chief among which were nagging illness in the wake of a sinus operation the previous year, disenchantment with Chinese nationalism and with Thomas Tchou ultimately as well, and the thought that he had given up the offer of a job at Harvard in order to come to China. Overriding all appears to have been Schwenning's misapprehension about the task he had been called upon to undertake.

"He seems to have thought that the Association had already in operation a strong, clearly conceived, enthusiastically supported industrial program and that he was being called to give it 'expert' advice and help to a going enterprise. He has not found this to be the case."⁹¹

Barnett recommended Carrington Goodrich, formerly of the Rockefeller Foundation office in Peking, as Schwenning's successor, but evidently Goodrich declined the post.

The loss of the foreign expert so soon after his acquisition dealt a strong blow to the YMCA's industrial programme, not least to the credibility of that programme in the eyes of the Rockefeller Foundation.⁹² One indirect consequence of this setback was the eclipse and resignation of M.T. Tchou, this in the wake of the upheaval following May 30th 1925, when the Association's industrial work might have benefited most from firm leadership.

Thomas Tchou had been the prime mover behind the YMCA's industrial effort in China for nearly five years, co-ordinating the programme in his capacity as National Industrial Secretary, and compiling single-handedly most of the Association's special studies on economic conditions, housing, labour unions and other subjects related to the plight of industrial workers.⁹³ A graduate in engineering, Tchou was said to have been converted to Christianity after coming under the influence of Feng Yu-hsiang, and taught for a time at Wesley College in Ningpo before joining the staff of the YMCA in the early 'twenties.⁹⁴ Tchou was fluent in English, French and German, and was spoken of by one colleague as 'a remarkable genius with some of the limitations geniuses are likely to have', the chief of which, according to this observer, pertained to his executive and administrative ability.⁹⁵ Tchou had

"...shown power as the Prophet of a cause but not as its administrative and executive head."⁹⁶

Pierre Henry of the International Labour Office observed that Tchou was ahead of his time, that he had 'too much enthusiasm', seeing the difficulty he had in bringing his plans to fruition as a function of the nature of the YMCA.⁹⁷

"Ne recevant qu'une partie de ses fonds d'Amerique elle dépend des cotisations versées par les nationaux chinois et les étrangers en Chine. Ce ne sont pas les ouvriers qui peuvent souscrire. Il leur faut donc ménager beaucoup de susceptibilités. Ceci explique les difficultés qu'a rencontrées notre ami Thomas Tchou, secrétaire industriel du Comité central. Il avait un peu effrayé les directeurs du mouvement, tant en Chine qu'aux Etats-Unis..."⁹⁸

By December 1926, within a few months of Schwenning's departure, Thomas Tchou had taken on a new job as administrator of a large industrial school operated under the auspices of a Canton guild.⁹⁹ While technically on a year's leave of absence from the YMCA, Tchou was in fact regarded as having withdrawn from the Association, and the National Committee is reported to have begun looking for another Industrial Secretary.¹⁰⁰ Tchou continued his association with the Industrial Commission of the National Christian Council, though his involvement with it diminished with the passage of time. In a YMCA publication of 1928 dealing with the Shanghai Model Village, Tchou is shown as being a member of the advisory committee, but not as a member of the industrial staff.¹⁰¹

By 1929 Tchou had moved into the employment of the Nationalist Government, where he was put in charge of the Factory Inspection Department of the Ministry of Industry.¹⁰² In this capacity he was the first properly qualified person to represent China at the International Labour Conference in Geneva, at its 1929 session, where he raised an issue that was to assume prominence in the 'thirties, that of factory inspection in the International Settlement in Shanghai.¹⁰³ In 1932 Tchou was once again the delegate of the Chinese Government to the International Labour Conference, by which time he had somehow acquired the rank of colonel.¹⁰⁴ In the winter of 1932/3 he served as technical adviser on a mission led by H.H. Kung to America and Europe to investigate industrial conditions.¹⁰⁵ In 1934 Tchou is reported as being a full-time member of the Rickshaw Commission of the Shanghai Municipal Council, though it is not clear whether his link with the Government

was terminated at this time.¹⁰⁶ It is generally accepted by most contemporary observers that factory inspection in China in the 'thirties, for which Tchou was responsible during his tenure in the Government, was so inadequate as to be virtually non-existent.¹⁰⁷

Taken as a whole, the fifteen years or so during which Thomas Tchou was connected with efforts at industrial reform may be seen as representing an attempt by one man to effect some redress of major social and economic evils by persuading the established powers, whether the executive committee of the YMCA, the European delegates at Geneva, or the Nationalist Government, that they should sanction some policy that might materially alter the status quo. Tchou attempted to do this from a basis of little personal influence, and with little support. As his contemporary and colleague Lily Haass remarked,

"I do have faith in the young officials like M.T. Tchou... but they seem to be utterly powerless."¹⁰⁸

It will be argued elsewhere that the essential contradiction of any attempt at gradual reform in China at this time was that the 'established powers' resisted taking action precisely because their interests were bound up with the status quo, and they largely were neither moved by the humanitarian argument, nor recognised the need for some change toward the end of self-preservation.

With the departure of Thomas Tchou, the industrial programme of the YMCA was left in 1927 without effective leadership. Only in 1928 were two new National Industrial Secretaries appointed, the American J.W. Nipps in place of the 'foreign expert', and C.H. Lowe, graduate of the University of Chicago, who took on Tchou's role as Chinese co-ordinator of the programme.¹⁰⁹ Both of these men had had some experience as local industrial secretaries, but neither at this stage possessed that degree of expertise or understanding which, it had become apparent, would be necessary to the successful prosecution of a more ambitious industrial effort. Nonetheless, payments were resumed

from the Rockefeller Fund to underwrite their salaries and expenses.

In their first year, Nipps and Lowe spent much of their time travelling about China, studying industrial and labour conditions in some twenty-one centres with a view to preparing yet another plan of action in the light of the changed political circumstances,¹¹⁰ On one such trip, for example, the two secretaries spent a month visiting Nanking, Canton, Hong Kong, Taishan, Amoy, and Foochow, holding talks, it would appear, for the most part with national and municipal government officials, with employers, and with local YMCA personnel, and gaining an impression of the economic life of the country which was both general in content and particular in perspective.¹¹¹ It is evident that Nipps and Lowe attached considerable importance to interviews they had with a Kuomintang Minister and with the Mayor of Nanking, and seem to have accepted at face value the protestations of good intention on the part of these officials with respect to economic reconstruction and social reform.¹¹² Only in Canton did they encounter any trade unionists, and these, as they affirmed, were 'anti-Communists'.¹¹³ There is an unintended irony in the assertion at the end of the report on this tour that

"Our natural contact with employers makes it necessary that we give special attention to making acquaintance and developing friendship with the working people and their leaders."¹¹⁴

These peregrinations seem to have become the object of some criticism on the part of the Association hierarchy, and this, coupled perhaps with the fact that in due course there were few places of any note left to visit, meant that the tours of investigation came to an end by mid-1919.¹¹⁵

In the autumn of 1929 the only innovation in industrial work was the holding of a 'labour forum' in Shanghai, a series of discussions on relevant topics chaired by well-known personalities, among them Ch'en Ta. A proposal for a YMCA Industrial Training Centre, originating with Nipps, failed to come to fruition because no one could be found with the

skill necessary for the organisation of such a project.¹¹⁶ No matter how many reports were drawn up or plans were made, the programme could not be carried on without competent direction and qualified personnel. The inescapable fact was that whereas in 1925 the YMCA was active in industrial work in fourteen Chinese cities, by 1929 this work was carried on in only five cities.¹¹⁷ The events of 1925-27 and the failure in leadership had taken their toll.

Towards the end of 1929 C.H. Lowe was transferred to local industrial work in the Shanghai association, where he later came to supervise the new social centre in Robison Road opened late in 1930.¹¹⁸ Lowe had come to feel that his primary interest was in research and writing, and in due course it was to this that he turned his attention.¹¹⁹ Nipps, now left alone, was faced early in 1930 with an urgent request from the YMCA's International Committee in New York for a comprehensive statement of progress to date in industrial work, along with an account of how the Rockefeller money had been spent. This report was submitted in April.

The report proved to be Nipps' undoing. The sixteen page 'Statement of Industrial Work' was repetitive, and a triumph of form over content.¹²⁰ Lists of activities of the five active local industrial departments were not accompanied by any assessment of their effectiveness at this work. While a broad range of objectives was put forward, such as an improved standard of living for workers, the passage and enforcement of industrial legislation, and the expansion of the programme to cover not just five, but fourteen cities, there was little suggestion as to how in practical terms all of this might be achieved. Although the Chinese National Committee had so far drawn only part of the special industrial fund from New York, and indeed had spent only part of this amount, Nipps nonetheless put in a request for a new grant from the Rockefeller Foundation of \$37,500US over a period of three years,¹²¹ solely for the industrial work of the YMCA. Taken as a whole, the report was a statement of intent rather than a record of accomplishment.

Shortly after the report was filed, John Nipps was dismissed by the YMCA. By this time feeling against him within the Association was running high, perhaps reflecting as much as anything the frustration at having so little to show in the industrial sphere. Sherwood Eddy wrote

"John Nipps is a straight-forward, thick-skinned, crude, impulsive, outspoken Western boy, lacking in tact, unable to sense a situation. He should never have been called here as Industrial Secretary."¹²²

He added that Nipps seemed quite unable to decide what course the YMCA ought to follow in its industrial work. David Yui, the Association President, observed that Nipps was frequently busy on everything but his own job,¹²³ while another official criticised Nipps for spreading his 'ultra-liberal' religious beliefs, which he claimed had upset many missionaries and Christian Chinese.¹²⁴ Nipps returned with his wife to the United States, where his resources were soon depleted by a long period of illness. A letter written on his behalf by prominent members of the other welfare organisations in China, praising his efforts and urging that Nipps be re-instated, failed to have any influence on the YMCA.¹²⁵ Nipps was unemployed until 1933, when he got a job as an insurance salesman in New York. He had no further contact with the YMCA or with China.

The application of the YMCA for more money from the Rockefeller fund was unsuccessful. In early 1929, when the YWCA and the National Christian Council had each spent their three-year allocation for industrial work, the YMCA still had \$13,000 of its \$30,000 grant left.¹²⁶ When Sherwood Eddy visited China in 1930 to assess the efforts of the various organisations, much of this amount remained, and it may be supposed that he found it hard to justify to Rockefeller further expenditure where the evidence of progress had been so scant. Then too, with the dismissal of Nipps the YMCA's industrial programme no longer had a co-ordinator. Accordingly, while Rockefeller in 1931

made a final grant of two years' further assistance to both the YWCA and the National Christian Council, he declined to give any more money to the YMCA in the light of the 'considerable balance left from the original appropriation'.¹²⁷ Eddy's warning of 1929 to the Chinese Association, that precisely this might happen, had gone unheeded.¹²⁸ One condition under which the funds had been given had been that the local or national organisation should share the cost of industrial secretaries. Of the local organisations few could be found willing to undertake this burden, particularly after 1927.¹²⁹

The effect of the withdrawal of Rockefeller's support was compounded in due course by the impact of the Depression on the business community, both in America and in China. Much less financial assistance was forthcoming, both to the National Committee of the YMCA in China and to the International Committee in New York. By 1933 a process of 'demobilisation' was well under way in the movement, and a number of secretaries had to be sent home.¹³⁰ In these circumstances the filling of the post of National Industrial Secretary, vacant since 1930, was not considered a priority. In the meantime the few local industrial secretaries struggled to provide facilities for the workers in their areas. The programme, in the absence of any new inspiration, continued to consist of the traditional 'four-fold' approach of the YMCA, the provision of facilities for educational, social, religious and physical activity, with the occasional gesture towards the study of wages or living conditions of workers.¹³¹ In Shanghai, the 'model village' continued to function, as did the newer centre on Robison Road in the Western District. In 1935 a further social centre was planned for the Chapei district of Shanghai. By 1937 the Chinese YMCA was still lacking a National Industrial Secretary, and upon the outbreak of war with Japan in August such 'industrial' activity as was still being promoted by the Association ceased altogether.

CHAPTER 3

Industrial Work of the YWCA

As with the YMCA, the YWCA movement had its origins in the call for a spiritual regeneration of youth in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century. The movement spread rapidly to the United States, and towards the end of the century, branches of the Association were established in India and Japan. In 1899 a committee was formed of foreign and Chinese Christian women to promote the organisation in China. The National Committee and the first branch were established in 1905, and by 1920 no fewer than twelve 'city' associations, and eighty 'student' associations were in existence. In the first instance, the Chinese YWCA sought to appeal only to women of middle class origin, but in due course its work was expanded to embrace women, both rural and urban, of more humble circumstances.¹

Industrial work was begun by the YWCA in China in 1921 in accordance with the recommendations accepted by the World's YWCA movement at Champéry in 1920. The Champéry meeting, the philosophy of which will be discussed separately,² urged all national branches of the YWCA to take definite measures to promote industrial and social reform. In China, Grace Coppock, General Secretary of the YWCA movement there, was already seeking to procure the services of someone with expert knowledge of industrial conditions when at the end of 1920 she was introduced to Professor J.B. Tayler of Yen Ching University, on his way back from his furlough in Europe, who was able to give her the name of just such a person. While in Britain, Tayler had taken courses at the London School of Economics where he had met in June Agatha Harrison, who was in charge of the school's programme for training welfare workers. After several conversations

with her Tayler became convinced that Harrison's approach to industrial welfare very largely coincided with his own perception of what needed to be done in that sphere, and he determined to find some way of bringing her to China where the need for reform was urgent and the field as yet untouched.³

To the extent that experience outside China could prepare anyone to confront the conditions existing there, Agatha Harrison was prepared. Before taking up her position at LSE Harrison had studied at the Froebel Institute in London, and had held the post of welfare officer in several major British industrial concerns, managing to achieve within the limits prescribed for her some success in improving the condition of life of the employees in her charge.⁴ As one observer was later to remark, with some ambivalence, she was "...evidently a woman of ability and very strong convictions regarding the obligation of the employers to their employees."⁵ Although she had had no previous connection with the YWCA, and indeed entertained some doubts about her own attitude towards Christianity,⁶ Harrison agreed to go to China to work for the YWCA when approached by Grace Coppock early in 1921.

Harrison set out for China almost immediately, travelling via the United States where the American YWCA had arranged for her to visit a number of factories and 'model' enterprises, and meet Government officials, businessmen, trade unionists, and members of the Association's local industrial staff.⁷ She arrived in China early in May, where she found "...a National Committee eager to help, and a group of keen intelligent secretaries ready to stand back of a difficult program."⁸

After some initial reconnaissance it quickly became apparent to Harrison that conditions were much worse than anything she had anticipated. The Christian organisations as yet had little understanding of the industrial problem, and no plan of action, and while some employers had asked them for help,

"...the kind they wanted is well known to the welfare worker, viz: willingness to give money for 'see-what-we-do-for-our-workers' kind of work....how anyone with any honesty could embark on such a program when the conditions are what they are is beyond my knowledge."⁹

Determined to impress upon the leaders of the YWCA the gravity of the task they had undertaken, Agatha Harrison presented the National Committee at its meeting of June 16th with a clear choice. Either the Association could embark upon a programme of recreational and other activities among employed women, which would amount to work that was merely palliative, or it could put its effort into a programme directed primarily towards the making of opinion, which Harrison felt to be much more fundamental.¹⁰ After considerable discussion the Committee adopted the latter course, and decided that the Association would

"...begin at once to make a direct and accurate study of industrial conditions in typical centres to equip it with the knowledge which will enable it to serve both employers and employees in the most constructive ways and to help create the public opinion that much precede legislation."¹¹

As a first step in this process it was agreed that Zung Wei-tsung of the Association's Publication Department be sent to Europe to attend the International Congress of Working Women to be held in Geneva in October.

During her first six months as National Industrial Secretary of the Chinese YWCA, Agatha Harrison spent much of her time making herself familiar with local conditions and cultivating personalities whom she hoped might support her in her quest for legislative reform. For part of the remainder of the summer she worked with Grace Coppock at Peitaiho pressing her cause among missionaries and preparing the first draft of a report of the 'Committee on the Church's Relation to Economic and Industrial Problems'.¹² The Committee would present its report to the initial meeting of the National Christian Council of China the

following spring. After the death in October of Coppock, who had been chairman of the Committee, Harrison became its leading force, and while declining the chair herself made sure that Zung Wei-tsung, as a Chinese, would be made co-chairman along with C.F. Remer of St. John's University upon her return from Geneva.¹³

Back again in Shanghai, Harrison went to see the editor of the North China Daily News and was able to arouse his interest in the industrial question. Correspondence about factory conditions had already begun to appear in the columns of the News and the weekly North China Herald, stimulated by publication of the report of a child labour commission set up by the Hong Kong Government, and this correspondence was supplemented towards the end of the year by a series of articles on factories in Shanghai.¹⁴

Industrial reform had also become a subject for discussion in several bourgeois women's groups in Shanghai, and Harrison duly arranged a joint meeting of the Chinese, American and British Women's Clubs with the National Committee of the YWCA with a view to providing them with more information and encouraging them to co-ordinate their activity.¹⁵ As a result, the special joint committee formed by the women's clubs was instrumental in helping to bring about the establishment of the Shanghai Municipal Council's Child Labour Commission in 1923.¹⁶

Since coming to China Agatha Harrison had borne the burden of the YWCA's industrial campaign almost alone, although she did have some part-time assistance from two Association secretaries with no previous experience of such work - Helen Thoburn and Edith Johnston. In mid-December, however, Zung Wei-tsung returned from Europe with nearly six months of study of the problems of modern industry behind her, and was henceforth able to contribute significantly to Harrison's work.

On her way to Geneva Zung had spent seven weeks in England visiting factories in Liverpool, Manchester and London, and discussing the theory and practice of industrial welfare with British welfare workers.¹⁷ She had then travelled to Switzerland where she had described labour conditions in China to the delegates assembled at the Second International Congress of Working Women, and later was present as an observer at the third annual International Labour Conference. Zung was met at Hong Kong by Agatha Harrison on December 14th, and the two passed the remaining days before Christmas there and in Canton addressing small groups of interested people, and attending interviews with government officials and others of influence.¹⁸ In Hong Kong they were approached for advice by a number of women who had been dismissed from their factory for forming a guild. Their response was equivocal.

"We decided the only thing to do was to see if we could bring about a round table meeting of these girls and the employers - this we are trying to do."¹⁹

In the winter and spring of 1922 Zung continued to speak and write about her experiences in Europe, and while she was still not attached to the Association's Industrial Department, gave much of her time to assisting Agatha Harrison with a trying round of negotiations with employers. In April she helped Dr. Henry Hodgkin organise the Industrial Forum at the meeting of the World's Student Christian Federation in Peking, and in May was one of those responsible for presenting the industrial recommendations to the National Christian Conference in Hangchow.²⁰

When Agatha Harrison had been in China six months it had become clear to her from frequent visits to factories and conversations with managerial staff that she would have to direct her attention more narrowly towards the employers if she was ever to get anything done. As she was later to observe,

"The first principles of humanity and justice are being violated by the leaders of industry - many of whom come from America and England where similar actions would be penalised. If the employers can 'see' this thing and voluntarily bring about a different order, the industrial history of China may be very different from the West [sic]. If this is done trust will be engendered, and will be one of the foundations on which to build."²¹

In the late autumn of 1921 Harrison twice obtained an interview with a prominent foreign employer to whom she refers in her notes only as 'Mr. X'.²² She put to him the necessity for the 'leaders of industry' to take the initiative in bringing about industrial reform, and it would appear from a subsequent conversation between the two that she specifically had in mind measures to restrict the employment of child labour, to limit hours, and to safeguard the health of workers.²³ 'Mr. X' agreed that the existing situation was wrong, but maintained that foreign employers could not act to improve conditions as Chinese employers would not follow suit, and that nothing could be done until there was legislation, as competition was so keen that employers who set a different standard would 'go under'. At a third meeting in January 'Mr. X' said that he had consulted several other employers, who had confirmed that they would not act in the absence of legislation.²⁴

At the suggestion of 'Mr. X', Harrison then approached the Foreign Mill Owners' Association of Shanghai with a plea for collective action to implement minimum standards, observing that in the West the existence of such standards had proved a benefit to both workers and employers.²⁵ She was granted the opportunity to put her case at a special meeting of the Committee of the Foreign Millowners' Association on January 20th. On this occasion Harrison made four specific proposals to the employers: first, that they might, as an Association, register their dissatisfaction with existing conditions, as they all admitted that the conditions left much to be desired; second, that they might appoint a committee to go into the matter thoroughly, that such a committee

might be composed of English, American and Chinese employers, some practical economists "...like R.H. Tawney and Felix Frankfurter", someone to represent workers' interests, and people who had legal knowledge and would study the prevailing situation in various centres and put forward recommendations for change; third, that the employers might induce the Shanghai Municipal Council to extend the powers of their Health Department to include inspection of factories on grounds of ventilation, sanitation and overcrowding; and fourth, that individual factories might appoint trained welfare officers who would be responsible to management for all things relating to the well-being of workers - 'industrial welfare workers' of the type that existed in many factories in Britain.²⁶ Harrison suggested that if the employers would take it upon themselves to act they would find among concerned members of the community 'a body of people ready to help find a way out'.

"But none of the... suggestions appealed to them, and 'they all with one consent began to make excuse'. What one did not remember, the other did, shifting the responsibility, until one could well imagine that industry was run for philanthropic purposes to give warmth and food and shelter to men, women, and children. Listening to what was said gave the answer for all Bolshevism."²⁷

The mill owners urged Harrison to appeal to the Chinese Mill Owners' Association to try to secure legislation, which Harrison well knew would be futile, and the meeting closed with no positive result.

It is evident that Harrison's activities must have created some impression, however, as shortly after this abortive attempt to influence the Mill Owners, the Shanghai Rotary Club became interested in industrial reform. On February 9th, the Club held an open meeting to which Agatha Harrison and 'Mr. X' among others were invited to speak on the subject.²⁸ Subsequently the Club appointed a group of four to meet four of the reformers over lunch to discuss what could be done.²⁹ At this session it was decided that the Rotary Club would call together an

international group of employers in Shanghai, who would be approached through the Chinese Mill Owners' Association and the various chambers of commerce, with a view to constituting a permanent committee of employers to consider what might be done. The Rotary Club members agreed to contact Harrison when the liaison had been made. On this issue, however, the wheels of business moved slowly, and while Harrison remarked in her report of September 11th 1922 that there was "...a group of employers...willing to move forward if we have constructive plans..."³⁰ there is no evidence to suggest that the Rotary Club was any more successful than the YWCA had been in attempting to persuade the business community, at this stage at least, to take any initiative. So too in north China Harrison found during a trip to Peking and Tientsin in the autumn "...among officials and other men of standing...a number who are caring profoundly about industrial matters but waiting for the initiative to be taken in some other quarter."³¹

For Agatha Harrison, the strain of battling seemingly immovable forces sometimes became intolerable. In November 1921 she wrote,

"...I am constantly subject to a fire of criticism. At each dinner I have been to the subject crops up and then to use a slang expression I have 'to go through it'. The other night I held the fort for two hours against a prominent business man here. Next week I understand I am to meet a man at dinner who says I am a menace to the public.'³²

Mary Dingman, Industrial Secretary of the World's YWCA in London, to whom the letter was written, tried to offer encouragement and support from a distance, but the Chinese YWCA was now committed to a vanguard role in promoting industrial reform, and Harrison was still the woman on the spot with the most practical experience at this kind of work. In March of 1922 Harrison wrote again to Dingman, "...asking, or as I should like to put it, commandeering your help..."³³, and her letter was shortly followed by one from another YWCA secretary expressing a fear that Harrison might go to pieces if she had to go on bearing much of the load herself.³⁴ These letters seemed to have the

desired effect and Dingman, who had been contemplating a trip to the Far East in any event, arrived in China by the end of the year.

The knowledge that she was soon to receive assistance buoyed up Harrison through the summer and autumn of 1922. She wrote to Dingman suggesting that she might approach Constance Smith at the Home Office³⁵ to discuss the possibility of introducing labour legislation in the International Settlement at Shanghai.³⁶ She urged her to bring with her to China as many introductions as possible, illustrated material from the Home Office on ventilating apparatus, fencing for machinery, and sanitation facilities in factories, and copies of factory inspection reports dating back to the 1840's, "...for nothing was said then to the factory inspectors that is not being repeated out here."³⁷ She asked her to try to interview some of the Chinese women students in London with the idea of persuading them to train for industrial welfare work, either inside or outside the YWCA. She sought financial assistance so that other Chinese and foreigners might be sent from China to study industrial welfare in England, and suggested that Dingman appeal to Sir John Jordan, chairman of the Boxer Indemnity Committee, to see if funds from that source might be applied to a scholarship for industrial welfare training.³⁸ There is no evidence to suggest that any Boxer money was made available for this purpose.

Harrison developed her argument for the creation of a skilled corps of welfare workers further in her report of September 11th 1922.³⁹ By this time, she had apparently been able to convince the London School of Economics to offer a tuition scholarship for one year to enable a Chinese woman to go to London to study.⁴⁰ It was Harrison's plan to try to have this scholarship offered for the next five or six years. In addition, she suggested the YWCA women might after completing their courses in London return to China the following summer through the United States, where they could visit factories and perhaps attend the summer school for industrial workers at Bryn Mawr. While Harrison

clearly saw the necessity of training a cadre of Chinese women for this work, having an eye to the future, she also felt that what she termed the 'international character of trade' - the need to deal with foreign employers - would create a steady demand for foreign welfare workers. For these women, as for their Chinese counterparts, her own experience led her to insist on a definite pattern of preparation.

"I urge that no secretary be appointed to China for industrial work unless she has had a special training. Experience of the 'Industrial Girl' through clubs, etc., or a natural longing to do the work - is not sufficient. A thorough understanding of the history of industry in the other countries, its structure, its problems, the experiments that have been made by employers and workers, special legislation, the connection with other movements etc. etc. [is necessary]. In a word the kind of course that comes under the heading of social science should form part of the training. On the practical side, practical experience of factory life, of dealing with employers and workers, contact with Industrial Welfare Work (as it is understood in England) and with such people as factory inspectors etc. All of this in addition to the knowledge of the YWCA's activities in this field in all countries."⁴¹

In the temporary absence of such personnel to work directly in factories or as liaison between workers and government, it was decided that one constructive course of action would be to use the staff of the YWCA's Student Department to bring about an educated view of industrial problems among students who would, it was reasoned, be political and industrial leaders themselves in a few years' time, or would be married to them. Accordingly, a special session on industry was held during the YWCA 'Student Workers' Conference' in Shanghai and Hangchow, November 1st to 10th 1922.⁴² At this conference student YWCA members and their faculty advisers were urged to co-operate with the Church and with local community service groups in preparing for the visit of Sherwood Eddy, then imminent, and that of Mary Dingman in the New Year. In particular, it was suggested that students in any district might conduct a survey of industries in their own area, investigating working

conditions, and exposing those employers who, while claiming to offer their workers healthy conditions in which to carry on their labour, in fact did not. Students might also apply their energies to the improvement of the lot of workers with whom they regularly came into contact, such as school servants and ricksha pullers. Above all, they should avoid 'superficial activity', like giving classes in factories where people worked twelve to fourteen hours a day. The 'social creed' adopted by the World Student Christian Federation in Peking the previous May was to underline and guide their action. Students were to meet frequently to discuss their findings.⁴³ How much of this programme was carried into effect is open to dispute.

It may be supposed that where experienced welfare workers like Agatha Harrison and the YMCA's Thomas Tchou encountered great difficulty in gaining admission to factories, inexperienced girl students would be likely to be much less effective. Furthermore, while as the Conference conceded many students in mission schools were "...not sufficiently aware of national movements and conditions..."⁴⁴, many of those in government schools were "...thinking in terms of a new social order..."⁴⁵ and, in the view of this observer, were unlikely to be persuaded that a Christian organisation could be a vehicle for achieving it.

At the end of 1922 Mary Dingman, Industrial Secretary of the World's YWCA, arrived in China, evidently remaining there until her departure for Australia and New Zealand on July 13th 1923.⁴⁶ During her stay Dingman travelled extensively up and down the country explaining Association industrial policy at local branch meetings and sending her impressions back to the National Committee in Shanghai. Early in the year the Chinese YWCA prevailed upon the World's Committee in London to allow Dingman to return to China as temporary Industrial Secretary in 1924 when Agatha Harrison's tour of duty in this post would be over.⁴⁷

In 1923 Harrison's efforts to bring the plight of industrial workers to public attention began to yield some fruit. In March the Peking Government promulgated its provisional factory regulations, though in the event these were never to be enforced. In April, more directly as a result of YWCA agitation, the Shanghai Municipal Council decided to establish a commission to investigate child labour in factories within the bounds of the International Settlement. At the National Christian Conference in May the Committee on the Relation of the Church to Economic and Industrial Problems presented its report.⁴⁸ As a result an ongoing NCC Industrial Commission was appointed. Agatha Harrison and Zung Wei-tung formed part of a small group that met three times a week to carry on the executive work of this commission.⁴⁹ When the Child Labour Commission first met in June, Harrison was invited to serve on this body as well, which she did along with another YWCA secretary, the as yet unknown Soong Mei-ling. In July, Zung and Dingman gave a series of lectures on industrial history at a summer school arranged by the Christian organisations in Tsinanfu.⁵⁰

There was also significant movement of personnel within the YWCA's Industrial Department as Edith Johnston returned in the autumn from England where she had been receiving training in industrial welfare work while on furlough, and Harriet Rietveld of the National Committee, and Lily Haass of the Peking YWCA both left to undergo similar training in England and the U.S., Rietveld on May 1st and Haass in December.⁵¹ In December as well Dame Adelaide Anderson arrived in China, as a result of the joint intervention of Agatha Harrison and Dr. Henry Hodgkin of the NCC, to contribute her expertise to the deliberations of the Child Labour Commission. Earlier, in August, Shin Tak-hing had apparently travelled to Cologne from London to address the International Congress of Working Women.⁵²

The major event of 1923 in the calendar of the YWCA was the holding of the Association's first National Convention in Hangchow in

October. At Hangchow the industrial question was presented for consideration by the delegates assembled, for the last time under the direction of Agatha Harrison. The Association went on record as recognising the relationship between industrial distress and the host of other problems, social and economic, which impeded the Chinese masses from achieving the 'fullness of life', and in response to an appeal by the National Christian Council agreed to integrate its industrial campaign with that of the NCC's Industrial Commission.⁵³ By the year's end the best efforts of Harrison and her staff were almost entirely taken up with service on the Commission, its subsidiary Shanghai Local Committee, and the Municipal Council's Child Labour Commission.⁵⁴

Some time earlier, Harrison had remarked

"...one of our biggest problems will be to try and go forward as part of the unified Christian force, not alone as the YWCA. It may be necessary to do the latter, but we must try the other way first."⁵⁵

Gradually joint industrial welfare projects had absorbed more and more of the YWCA secretaris' energies, and at the time of Agatha Harrison's final departure for England in January 1924, commitment to co-operative action was complete. It would remain for others to live with the implications of this decision.

In January of 1924 the Christian organisations were much encouraged to learn that John D. Rockefeller Jr. had decided to give them Gold \$25,000 per year for three years for the promotion of industrial welfare in China. This decision had been taken by Rockefeller as a result of the intervention of Sherwood Eddy after his return from China early in 1923. Of this sum, \$10,000 was to go to the YMCA, \$5,000 to the YWCA, \$5,000 to the NCC, and \$5,000 for the purpose of investigating the desirability of setting up a permanent institute of social and economic research.⁵⁶ While the commitment on Rockefeller's part

to make the money available was quite unequivocal, the manner of administering the funds - through the medium of the International Committee of the YMCA in New York - from the YWCA's point of view left much to be desired.⁵⁷

From the beginning, deployment of the funds was much hampered by the unresponsive attitude of the YMCA in New York, and by the difference of opinion between the YMCA in China and the other Christian organisations over what would constitute proper use of the money, trends which augured ill for the joint approach to industrial problems to which the YWCA had so recently committed itself. While the YMCA was advised immediately of the grant in a letter from New York which arrived in February, the YWCA and the NCC had to learn of it by hearsay, and were only formally advised of the terms and conditions after Agatha Harrison, by this time in the United States, was granted an interview with Rockefeller himself the following summer.⁵⁸

In March and April representatives of the YWCA and NCC met with officials of the Chinese YMCA to discuss their interpretation of the provisions of the gift. It soon became clear that the YMCA understood the terms of the grant "...in the most rigid way...".⁵⁹ This meant that the YMCA could use its money only for two new industrial secretaries from the West who would carry out practical 'demonstration work', one perhaps in a specific factory, the other in a 'social centre'.⁶⁰ The YWCA would be obliged to use its share only for new industrial secretaries, while the NCC money could be used only for the spreading of ideas, educating opinion, and none of it towards salaries.⁶¹ The YWCA felt, however, that \$5,000 per year was more than would be required for one industrial secretary, and preferred to spend the remainder on other items of expenditure in its industrial department's budget.⁶² It specifically wished to contribute part of its grant towards the salary of a strong executive secretary for the NCC Industrial Commission. The NCC itself also wanted greater flexibility in determining how its share would

be spent. While Dr. Henry Hodgkin of the NCC wrote to the International Committee of the YMCA in New York in June requesting elucidation of the terms of the grant and urging greater freedom in its deployment, an appeal which Agatha Harrison would shortly repeat to Rockefeller, E.C. Jenkins of the International Committee wrote at the same time to C.W. Harvey in China confirming the YMCA's original position; the two letters crossed in the post.⁶³ Jenkins further expressed the view that all the participating organisations would be expected to clear all their expenditures through Harvey, who was Senior Secretary of the YMCA in China.

It would appear that Agatha Harrison's meeting with Rockefeller during the summer of 1924 not only clarified the terms of the grant, but made it clear that Rockefeller himself intended a much greater degree of flexibility in the spending of the money than the YMCA had been willing to concede.⁶⁴ Dingman and Hodgkin both apparently conveyed the sense of this interview to Harvey, one in person and the other by letter, and asked him to demonstrate the YMCA's commitment to joint action by allowing a small amount of the sum it had been given to be put towards the salary of an NCC Industrial Secretary.⁶⁵ It would seem that Harvey was unmoved by these arguments, however, and on August 18th he sailed for New York for discussions with the International Committee. Most of the Chinese YMCA's senior staff were now temporarily in New York, which ruled out the possibility of further discussions on joint action for several months to come.⁶⁶

The YWCA and the NCC then went ahead and prepared their own budgets for the use of the Rockefeller money. The YWCA proposed to spend its \$5,000 per year as follows: one new YWCA Industrial Secretary, \$2,500; contribution to the salary of an Executive Secretary for the NCC Industrial Commission, \$1,000, (the NCC put up a similar amount); travelling expenses in China, \$250; towards expenses and hospitality for visiting industrial experts, \$150; training of 'industrial leaders' (financial assistance to students to enable them to travel abroad and study, and to colleges in China to enable them to give

special courses on industrial welfare), £1,000; the production and purchase of literature on industrial subjects (to supplement that provided by the NCC), \$100.⁶⁷ Both organisations submitted their budgets to the International Committee of the YMCA in New York as required, and Dingman requested a cabled reply as she had a particular candidate in mind in London for the post of Industrial Secretary for the YWCA and wished to get in touch with her as soon as possible.

For five months nothing at all was heard from the YMCA despite repeated enquiries from Dingman and Hodgkin, and three telegrams.⁶⁸ Finally, in February 1925 Hodgkin received a letter from Charles Herschleb of the YMCA in New York claiming that the problem had been caused by "...the YMCA and the YWCA [having] been delayed in securing personnel and [not having] until recently been in a position to call upon the Fund..."⁶⁹. As Dingman observed,

'It would almost look as if they have been unable to find the person for themselves and had kept us waiting until they were ready.'⁷⁰

Indeed, it would appear that this is precisely what happened, as YMCA correspondence shows that the Association succeeded in finding its own man to go to China, G.T. Schwenning, only in the spring of 1925.⁷¹ A review of YMCA expenditures under the Rockefeller Fund in 1930 shows that the Association never gave any money towards the salary of an Industrial Secretary for the NCC, nor for any other joint project with the industrial sections of the NCC and the YWCA.⁷² When, by April 1925, the YWCA had received a direct communication from Herschleb, and it had been admitted that there was more leeway in the spending of the Rockefeller money than had at first been thought, Dingman had lost her chance to bring to China the welfare worker she had particularly wanted for the YWCA, as the woman had in the end been obliged to decline so uncertain an offer.⁷³ While the International Committee of the YMCA continued to act as broker for the Rockefeller grant over the next five years, and offered no further trouble, it is hard to dispute Dingman's conclusion that in 1924/5 the YWCA had been "abominably treated" by the Committee.⁷⁴

Subsequent to the collapse of the movement for the reform of child labour in Shanghai in mid-1925, in which the YWCA had played a leading part, industrial welfare work as a whole became more difficult as events following the May 30th incident served to sharpen national and class consciousness, and resistance to any kind of gradual reform, especially when initiated by foreigners, increased both from the right and the left. In the case of the YWCA uncertainty as to what course to pursue in industrial work was heightened by a temporary hiatus in leadership.

In June of 1925 Mary Dingman, who had directed this work since Agatha Harrison's departure at the end of 1923, left China to resume her responsibilities at the World's YWCA headquarters in Europe.⁷⁵ Originally it had been proposed to call a Miss Escreet to China to replace Mary Dingman, using part of the Rockefeller grant for this purpose. Escreet was apparently an English welfare worker of some year's experience, and it had been hoped that if she had been on the spot in China in 1925, working for the YWCA, the Shanghai Municipal Council might have been persuaded to take her on as head of a new Industrial Section, whereupon the YWCA would have found a replacement for her.⁷⁶ The defeat of the child labour legislation and the rise of the May Thirtieth Movement however meant that creation of an Industrial Section by the Council was not quite out of the question, while the difficulties posed by the YMCA over release of the Rockefeller money to the YWCA caused such a delay that between the autumn of 1924 and the spring of 1925 Miss Escreet had quite lost interest in the job.⁷⁷

Approaches to several other British women welfare workers apparently were no more fruitful.⁷⁸ In China itself it would appear that for the first time no suitable candidate could be found to be sent to the summer course on welfare work at the London School of Economics.⁷⁹ Of the junior YWCA staff who had come to be involved in industrial work over the past several years, some were proving to be a disappointment.

Soong Mei-ling, who had served on the Child Labour Commission, was soon to marry Chiang Kai-shek and drop out of YWCA work altogether.⁸⁰ Zung Wei-tsung had turned against the child labour campaign, as she had come to see the issue of the extension of the Shanghai Municipal Council's power to legislate as evidence of an intention to encroach further on Chinese sovereignty.⁸¹ This had soured relations between her and her foreign co-workers. In 1926 she married and participated less actively in the YWCA.⁸² Shin Tak-hing, who had spent even longer than Zung in Europe studying techniques of industrial welfare, apparently failed to satisfy those who had earlier shown so much confidence in her. Late in 1925 Shin was put in charge of YWCA industrial work in Shanghai, a symptom of "...a definite recognition of the fact that she will be entirely a local secretary..."⁸³ Late in 1926 a senior official remarked that Shin "...just is not in the right place.....I feel we must find another Chinese woman to head up the department..."⁸⁴ One other young woman who had expressed interest in industrial welfare work in 1926 left to join a church mission in Changchow. As Lily Haass said of Dju Yu-bao,

"There was always a bit of a reservation in her mind regarding the kind of work that we were doing since she desired a first-hand contact with workers with a strong Christian emphasis."⁸⁵

Dju, however, would subsequently return to industrial work, and would in due course become one of Eleanor Hinder's assistants at the Industrial Section of the Shanghai Municipal Council.

Of the staff more experienced in industrial welfare work, this left Harriet Rietveld, Lily Haass, and Edith Johnston. In 1925 Rietveld was fully occupied with the co-ordination of industrial welfare efforts in Chefoo, almost the only centre outside Shanghai where this kind of activity continued to be promoted in the wake of the May Thirtieth rising.⁸⁶ It had been decided by the YWCA National Committee in March 1925 that Lily Haass would be loaned to the Industrial

Commission of the National Christian Council upon her return from furlough in the autumn,⁸⁷ and she did in fact take up her position with the NCC in October. With the unexpected death that month of Edith Johnston,⁸⁸ however, who had been helping to carry the work of the Industrial Department at National Headquarters in Shanghai, the problem of overall direction of the Association's industrial work became acute. It was at this time that the decision was made to call to China Eleanor Hinder. An Australian woman with several year's experience of industrial welfare work in her own country, Hinder would quickly assume responsibility for the YWCA's industrial efforts in China, first as a local secretary in Shanghai, and then as National Industrial Secretary. Ultimately it would be Eleanor Hinder who, with Rewi Alley, would be put in charge of the Shanghai Municipal Council's 'Industrial Section' upon its creation in 1932.

The two years that Eleanor Hinder spent in Shanghai during her first period of residence in China - early 1926 to early 1928 - permitted little scope for dramatic initiatives in industrial work. Foreigners in the YWCA, as elsewhere in China, were placed in the position of having to react to the sudden twisting and turning of events around them, and even those who sought to isolate themselves from the conflict between Chinese nationalism and foreign privilege were not above suspicion. As one observer remarked,

"The Shanghai local Association is talking of dispensing with all foreigners, which would mean the collapse of industrial work."⁸⁹

Such projects as were undertaken in 1926 and the first half of 1927 were largely implemented under the sponsorship of the Industrial Commission of the National Christian Council, with YWCA co-operation. While Lily Haass of the YWCA was no Executive Secretary of this Commission, her hands were tied by the growing conservatism of the NCC constituency among the Churches.⁹⁰

One experiment which was attempted as an independent initiative of the YWCA at this time, however, was the acquisition of a house in the Chapei factory district of Shanghai as a field centre for industrial work. As Lily Haass observed,

"It will mean a tremendous thing to our Chinese secretaries if they can get a first hand knowledge of industrial women and their problems instead of trying to do all of their work from an office. They have clearly in mind that we are not doing any slumming in any superior way but opening the way for the development of Chinese woman leadership among the workers."⁹¹

A later report further emphasised that the object of the experiment was "...to contribute to the leadership of the women who work in the filatures, so that they may be as intelligent as possible about the conditions under which they work..."⁹²

In December of 1926 the house opened with Eleanor Hinder, her Chinese trainee Kyong Bae-tsung, a qualified nurse, and Lily Haass - in her capacity as a YWCA worker - in residence. Popular education classes were immediately begun, though apparently for children in the first instance, and a vaccination clinic was held three nights a week with the co-operation of the Health Department of the Municipality of Shanghai and Woosung.⁹³ Contact was made with forewomen from several factories, with a view to encouraging them to use what authority they possessed to improve conditions for the workers in their charge. A 'forewomen's council' was envisaged, which could act as a consultative body to the YWCA workers, though during the brief existence of the Chapei centre there is nothing to suggest that such a group was formally created. It was hoped in addition that Eleanor Hinder would be able to reach men in 'senior', presumably management, positions, in the surrounding filatures by offering them English lessons, and would in this way be able to develop in them an awareness of the necessity for improved conditions of work.⁹⁴ A 'ten day programme'

of adult education classes was planned for the period when filatures would be closed for three weeks at Chinese New Year.

While the Chapei experiment may be considered to be evidence of a new resolution on the part of the YWCA to establish a direct contact with working women, it may be supposed that there was a natural reluctance on the part of the latter to have very much to do with the YWCA women except to patronise the educational and health facilities which they made available.⁹⁵ The YWCA welfare workers had occupied the Chapei centre for only a few months when they were obliged to withdraw to the International Settlement by political developments in Shanghai in the spring of 1927.⁹⁶

In August of 1927 the National Christian Council held its major 'Conference on Christianising Economic Relationships' under the direction of Lily Haass, and immediately afterwards the YWCA convened its first 'Industrial Secretaries Conference' in Shanghai on August 29th and 30th.⁹⁷ On this occasion all those who had participated in the YWCA's industrial work over the previous several years and who were still in China were brought together to share their experiences and to consider strategy. For some time there had been a growing disenchantment with the policy of 'co-operation' with the other Christian agencies in the pursuit of industrial work embarked upon at the beginning of 1924. As had been observed in 1926,

"It had become increasingly clear during these three years of the 'policy of co-operation' that such a policy puts not a less but a greater burden of responsibility on the YWCA. A study of local [NCC] committees shows almost without exception that work flourishes only where there is an Association person with a special interest in, and knowledge of, industrial problems."⁹⁸

Given that the NCC seemed to function in the industrial sphere only insofar as it was led by YWCA personnel, and given the longstanding

differences between the YWCA and the YMCA on the industrial question, it is not perhaps surprising that the most important resolution to come out of the August conference was a decision that the YWCA should re-establish an independent industrial programme of its own as soon as possible.⁹⁹

Among other issues apparently discussed at the conference were recruitment and training of industrial secretaries, the best disposition of available financial and human resources, and the appropriate relationship between the existing work of the Association oriented towards the creation of public opinion on industrial matters, and more direct work, 'for and with workers'.¹⁰⁰ In the particular circumstances of 1927, there was:

"...a growing desire on the part of certain Chinese leaders, Miss Ting [General Secretary of the Chinese YWCA] in particular, for concrete pieces of work that can be seen. The model village of the YMCA attracts her especially..."¹⁰¹

At one session of the conference a Chinese secretary challenged the Association to see industrial workers as 'people', to "...stop being a middle class organisation,..."¹⁰² While the issue was not finally resolved, there is an evident shift in the direction of welfare work which may be considered to date from August 1927.¹⁰³ This was accompanied by a renewed effort to get in touch with the labour movement.¹⁰⁴

With the departure from China of Eleanor Hinder in the early spring of 1928, the YWCA's industrial programme once again for a time lacked decisive leadership. Originally Hinder had intended that a Scottish secretary, Margaret Chisholm, should succeed her,¹⁰⁵ but Chisholm had no particular training for the work and seems not to have had any responsibility for it after the summer of 1929. Yet another

promising Chinese trainee, Kyong Bae-tsung, who at the end of 1928 had single-handedly conducted a study into industrial conditions in Wusih preparatory to the Association's beginning work there, left the YWCA in 1929 to get married.¹⁰⁶ These departures must be viewed against the background of the decision of both Gideon Chen and Lily Haass to resign the same year from the Industrial Commission of the National Christian Council, the former out of sheer frustration and the latter so that she could go on furlough prior to returning to the YWCA.¹⁰⁷

Nevertheless some significant industrial work was done in 1928 and 1929 as local secretaries carried on with projects initiated by Eleanor Hinder and her predecessors. A number of surveys were undertaken, more than in any other single period, into conditions for women workers in different industries, and the results were published in pamphlet form. Among these were Women in Tientsin Industries by T'ao Ling and Lydia Johnson, Industrial Women in Wusih by Kyong Bae-tsung, and Women in Industry in the Chapei, Hongkew and Pootung Districts of Shanghai by Chung Shou-ching and May Bagwell.¹⁰⁸ In addition, a special 'Industrial Number' of the Green Year Supplement, the Association's English Language magazine, was produced in November 1928 to try to convey to foreign readers a sense of the urgency of the need for industrial reform in China.¹⁰⁹

In the spring of 1928 the YWCA embarked upon an industrial programme in Tientsin. Initially the two secretaries responsible, Lydia Johnson and T'ao Ling, encountered hostility, owing to

"...the fact that the local Chinese authorities so fear the influence of communist propaganda that anyone working in the realm of social investigation is open to suspicion. Endorsement from the Chinese Chamber of Commerce helped to allay this difficulty, however, and after some initial experience of being watched by detectives, the two secretaries have been able to pursue their investigations."¹¹⁰

A decision was taken to concentrate on providing mass education for industrial women in Tientsin, and accordingly a class was begun in Ta Wang near the British-American Tobacco Factory and another at Hsi Ku near a large match factory. While conditions in the tobacco-related industries were not the worst to be found in Tientsin, it was felt best to start with "...those industrial groups whose wage and whose working hours gave a little more margin for such things as learning to read and write...".¹¹¹

Factory workers were contacted by means of distributing leaflets describing the programme among the forewomen, who then passed along the word; the programme had the blessing of factory managers. The two classes together appear to have had a total average enrolment for each six month session of some fifty to sixty girls in the first two years of their operation.¹¹² A process of attrition naturally took place, however, as a result of combining long hours of work with evening classes, and this along with the inherent difficulty of learning to read and write Chinese meant that of the fifteen to twenty girls attending the first session at Ta Wang, for example, only nine passed their examinations.¹¹³ Subject matter for the course was the Thousand Character Text published by the Commercial Press. Each class met for two hours in the evening, six days a week. Typically, the instructor might be a junior middle school graduate, and it is interesting to note that her salary for this work, at \$20 Chinese per month, compared with an average monthly wage of about \$8 per month for the Hsi Ku match workers, and \$12 per month for the tobacco workers of Ta Wang.¹¹⁴ Of the 'graduates' some apparently went on to study three nights a week subjects such as arithmetic, reading, and the Three Principles of the People, though it is not clear that this 'further study' was offered after the first year of operation.

One difficulty encountered was that of reaching the many women out-workers who worked assembling match boxes in their homes around

the match factory in Hsi Ku. Quite apart from the difficulty of getting in touch with these women, the fact that they were paid on piece-work rates meant that they were even less likely than their counterparts in the factories to find the time or energy for mass education.

"...where every copper counts in the family budget - and one gets only three coppers for pasting 100 boxes - it is perhaps not so easy to leave one's work even for an hour in order to study..."¹¹⁵

The problem of out-workers was one with which the YWCA never really came to grips, with respect to mass education or anything else.

Another educational project for which the Tientsin association industrial department came to bear a heavy burden of responsibility was the Tientsin vocational school for women. The school had its origins in a factory for women which had existed from 1917 to 1919. Finding the school already in operation, but in need of financial assistance, the YWCA resolved to lend it some support and was by 1929 subsidising it to the extent of some \$1,500 Chinese per year.¹¹⁶

The object of the school was to "...secure economic independence for young women through study and work..."¹¹⁷ and was reflected in the curriculum which combined an elementary academic education with training for hand work. The girls in attendance at the school were from ten to twenty years in age, with the average being nearer the lower figure. The elementary work involved lessons in the '3 r's', party principles, 'common sense', and English; the students were divided into two sections, and while one group would be doing academic work, the other group would be doing hand work. The whole teaching load was borne by two teachers, each of whom taught thirty-three hours per week and had to be responsible for four classrooms at once. A volunteer teacher came to help with the English. The school year was thirty-eight weeks, with $5\frac{1}{2}$ days a week and six hours a day, the normal full course being four years. Some 96 students were in attendance in 1929.¹¹⁸

It is worth noting that while no tuition fees were charged a fee of \$2 per year was payable to meet incidental expenses, which must have acted as some deterrent at least to families on very marginal incomes. Also, it is observed that in 1929 only seven per cent of the school's graduates went on directly to become wage earners, while the others went on either to do further study, or stayed at home as 'house-helpers'. In a report published in 1930 the YWCA is criticised for "...running an ordinary primary school with an exaggerated form of manual training..." and for paying "...comparatively too little attention...to the education of girls from poorer homes who often all need the help most of all...",¹¹⁹ This observer recommended that girls under 14 should not be admitted in future, and that the curriculum should conform more to the norm for adult education.

"Thousand characters, simple homemaking and civics should take the place of the present curriculum, because model homes for the poor classes are badly needed in this country. As to hand work a better variety should be added to meet the needs of the young women of today."¹²⁰

It is not clear from subsequent brief reports whether the vocational school continued to function in its existing or in revised form, or whether or not the YWCA continued to support it. A similar vocational school would appear to have been started as a result of Christian initiative in Canton in 1928, but again it is not clear what responsibility the YWCA had in this initiative.¹²¹ In Tientsin the vocational school was apparently under the supervision of the Association's Social Service Secretary, rather than that of the Industrial Secretary.

Once begun, industrial work continued in Tientsin until shortly after the outbreak of war with Japan in 1937. The difficulty in finding suitable staff affected work there as elsewhere, however, and in 1930 Cora Deng would observe that Lydia Johnson was "...still there, but working under strain due to the lack of a trained permanent Chinese secretary to work with her..."¹²²

Elsewhere in Shanghai, it would appear that by 1929 one house in the YMCA Model Village in Pootung had been allocated to the YWCA as a base from which to conduct industrial welfare work among women of the district, with the emphasis on mass education,¹²³ effectively reducing the number of houses actually lived in by working families to ten. Also in 1929 the YWCA established itself firmly in the Western District of Shanghai with the opening of its 'centre for experiment, demonstration and training of secretaries', under the direction of the National and local Shanghai Industrial Departments.¹²⁴

This centre, in a part of Shanghai where "...moral and social conditions among women workers are particularly bad..."¹²⁵ soon came to be the most important piece of work undertaken by the Association in Shanghai. From two bases of operation, one in Ferry Road and the other in Robinson Road, the YWCA carried out an extensive programme of welfare work in which the emphasis was again on education, with 'popular education', presumably literacy classes, offered under the supervision of the 'popular education secretary', classes in arithmetic, hygiene, letter writing, Chinese history and geography for graduates of the literacy programme, and 'mass education', "...with larger groups of workers and their families..."¹²⁶ In addition, the Association arranged talks, discussions, demonstrations, and films to promote what was termed 'Health education', and provided the services of a woman doctor two evenings a month for the women of the community. A library service made available to workers books and other reading material, often with a strong Christian bias.¹²⁷ Clubs were started to bring together women interested in amateur dramatics, music, sports and other activities, and club rooms were kept open for recreation during the workers' brief leisure hours and at times of high unemployment.

Women from the recreational clubs at each of the Shanghai YWCA industrial centres were chosen to serve on the 'Joint Representative

Groups' which met monthly at YWCA headquarters to discuss the pre-occupations and concerns of industrial women. In the Western District special discussion groups were organised to which married women could bring their particular problems, while Association personnel undertook to sustain a campaign to visit women workers at home. The Industrial Department also opened a small hostel, "...which serves as a demonstration in homemaking and furnishes clean comfortable living quarters for nine girls who have no family near enough to live with..."¹²⁸ In all of this the YWCA welfare workers succeeded in the Western District where political circumstances had caused them to fail earlier in Chapei; by moving to the district they were able for the first time to establish direct and regular contact with working women.

"...the secretaries live in the centre and have a very personal touch with the girls so as to understand their problems and their ways of living. This is the only way to gain confidence from the girls."¹²⁹

A more limited programme of mass education and club work continued to be pursued by the Association in rooms obtained for the purpose in the Yangtzepoo and Hongkew districts of Shanghai, though no staff was in residence at these centres. By October 1930 the YWCA Industrial Department claimed to be 'reaching' some three hundred women workers through mass education classes in the various districts of Shanghai, and one hundred and fifty more through organised club work.¹³⁰

Another new project undertaken by the YWCA was the opening of an industrial department and centre in the city of Wusih in 1929, subsequent to the completion of a survey of conditions there by Kyong Bae-tsung. The principal industries in Wusih were cotton and silk, which employed a large number of women workers making the city of particular interest to the YWCA. As Wusih was not a Treaty Port, most of the capital invested there was Chinese, and the foreign

community was quite small. The new Industrial Department soon acquired a house in the factory district and despite the fact that there was no established branch of the YWCA in the city to give it support, began to promote mass education and health work among Wusih's working women.¹³¹ The initial response of employers to the programme was found to be 'cordial'.¹³²

From the beginning the Association's work in Wusih ran into difficulties. In the spring of 1929 Kyong Bae-tung, who it had been intended would direct the work, contracted typhoid and was unable to work at all for several months.¹³³ Upon her recovery, Kyong resigned from the YWCA in order to be married.¹³⁴ A suggestion that May Bagwell, an American Industrial Secretary working in Shanghai, should go to Wusih to help with the work appears never to have been taken up.¹³⁵ The work continued in 1930 through the medium of relatively untried stop-gap appointments, but lacked effective leadership. As Cora Deng was to remark shortly after taking office, with respect to Wusih,

"Our trouble is lack of personnel. We don't have enough trained Chinese secretaries, and it doesn't seem to be possible to put a western secretary in that city, which is so thoroughly native."¹³⁶

Despite the staffing problem, there seemed to be a generally shared optimism about the possibilities for successful welfare work in Wusih. In 1929 Lily Haass expressed her feeling that Wusih was "...the most thrilling thing..."¹³⁷ among the various industrial welfare projects that the YWCA had undertaken. A year later, Cora Deng was equally enthusiastic.

"You know this is the most indigenous industrial city in whole China (sic) and it is the city chosen by the National Government for experiments on industrial hygiene, public health, as well as adult education. So it has the hope of having some very important things to come out in the near future."¹³⁸

Implicit in this view, it may be suspected, is the growing assumption that where foreign capital was less in evidence and was not protected by extra-territorial privilege, the likelihood that industrial reform would succeed was much greater.¹³⁹ It is ironic that Wusih was the shortest-lived of all the Association industrial centres, the YWCA terminating its industrial work there in 1934.¹⁴⁰

In addition to direct welfare work, YWCA industrial activity at this time had several other dimensions to it. The Association had through its individual staff members taken an important part in a study of the cost of living of workers in Shanghai initiated in 1926 by the National Christian Council. This study was subsequently taken over by the Bureau of Markets of the Nationalist Ministry of Finance, and was the first of a series of such studies carried out by the Kuomintang government and by the Government of the Municipality of Greater Shanghai.¹⁴¹ In 1929 the World's YWCA suggested that the various national associations might undertake 'budget studies' - a comprehensive survey of income and expenditure - for working families in their areas. The Chinese YWCA felt that for the time being this would be beyond its capacity.

"Budget studies are terribly involved here, since most workers seem to pool their wages in the family income. A budget study therefore means a study of the whole family income and expenditure."¹⁴²

The Association decided instead to embark on less complicated studies of living and working conditions which would provide "...information such as cannot be obtained by more technical investigations and which would be of special help to us in deciding our own program and policy, since it would yield much about social and moral conditions."¹⁴³ The investigations of the life of working women in several Chinese cities, noted above, were typical of these studies.

Co-operation with government agencies sometimes took the form of the provision of experienced industrial staff to assist the various Chinese municipal authorities, particularly after 1927, to implement their 'welfare' programmes. It would appear that in 1927 Kyong Bae-tsung and possibly other Association personnel were asked to participate in a study of the working conditions of the city's women and children to be carried out by the Labour Department of the new Shanghai municipal government.¹⁴⁴ In December of 1928 Grace Li, of the Association's industrial staff in Tientsin, was asked to organise a programme in popular education for the Department of Education of the municipal government of Tientsin.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, the YWCA continued to actively promote the passage of legislation to regulate hours and conditions in factories, particularly with respect to women. The Association's evolving relations with the different levels of government will be considered in greater detail elsewhere.¹⁴⁶ It may be observed, however, that the attitude of the Association towards co-operation with government was somewhat equivocal, and tended to fluctuate according to the prevailing estimation of the government's integrity. In the years immediately after the establishment of the Nationalist government in 1927, and of new provincial and municipal governments, the expectation that there could be fruitful co-operation was at its height. This hope was to be dashed by the passage of the repressive new Trade Union Law in 1929.¹⁴⁷

Summing up the functions of the YWCA Industrial Department in 1930, May Bagwell speaking from her experience in Shanghai saw its role on the one hand as that of an interpreter of the needs of industrial workers to the broader community, and on the other hand as that of an agency engaged in the promotion of direct educational, health and welfare work among industrial women. In pursuit of the first objective, the Association sought to inform itself and to inform others through studying the field and collecting information by means of visiting

factories, meeting workers at their homes and discussing their needs with them, through arranging trips to factories and tenements for concerned individuals in positions of influence, through the maintenance of an Industrial Committee of interested individuals to act as liaison with the community, and through co-operation with government bureaux and other social agencies, often Christian in aspiration, occupied with the plight of working people.¹⁴⁸ The Association had acted to disseminate the information it had gathered "...so that people who have had little touch with industry and industrial women have been helped to understand something of the problems which industrial women face in Shanghai",¹⁴⁹

The nature of the direct work undertaken has been detailed elsewhere, but it is necessary to convey something of the spirit of the work, the essence of which is caught in this passage from a report by Eleanor Hinder early in 1928.

"How usual the words sound! - 'Obtain direct touch'. But how unusual the things involved for the Chinese YWCA secretaries! Crossing the Whangpoo River to an industrial section of the city, often by a hand-propelled ferry, because there is no regular steamer conveyance that Chinese women may take: teaching a class of 22 women, tobacco workers there who, possessed of an inordinate desire to read, had insinuated themselves into a men's night school - teaching for an hour for the sake of ten minutes of 'discussion time' with them: taking advantage of a prolonged strike to organise instead an all day school - five hours one day accomplishing as much as could be done in two weeks, hour by hour, at night, when wearied by all day work, (this though untold winter misery is following the enforced unemployment) - taking advantage of the fortnightly holiday of another factory to take the women workers for a picnic, penetrating into 'li's' or alleys and establishing schools or clubrooms, because women workers will not stir more than half a block from their houses at night... This activity in a time of lawlessness and crime demands from these Chinese girls a courage which is real. Not to any great extent have educated girls in China 'taken off the gloves', in social work, and

there are elements of physical danger in this work which call for the use of the term 'bravery' in carrying it out."¹⁵⁰

Throughout the period from 1926 onwards, the industrial welfare activity of the YWCA had been sustained with the financial assistance of the Rockefeller Foundation, which it will be recalled had agreed to give the Association Gold \$5,000 per year for three years for this purpose. By the spring of 1929, however, this grant had been exhausted. As a result of the intercession of Sherwood Eddy with Rockefeller, the YWCA and the NCC were each in May of that year given a further \$5,000,¹⁵¹ and it would appear that a considerable part of this sum in the case of the YWCA went to fund the 'demonstration work' in the new centres opened that year by the Association in the Western District of Shanghai.¹⁵² In 1930 Sherwood Eddy visited China to observe the progress made in welfare work, and as a consequence of his subsequent report to Rockefeller the YWCA and the NCC again received sums of money for this work, for the YWCA \$4,000 for the coming year, and \$2,000 for the year after, to be regarded as a 'final commitment'.¹⁵³ It would appear that in the straitened circumstances of the depression the Foundation was unwilling to go on funding welfare work in far-off China, though the action to terminate assistance was represented as consistent with Rockefeller's normal policy.

"Such a decision does not involve any decrease in interest in the problem or any criticism, but is made because of his belief that as the work continues, it should be financed increasingly from other sources more directly concerned and related to the problem."¹⁵⁴

Before this final grant was made the YWCA had hoped to appeal to the Rockefeller Foundation jointly with the NCC and the YMCA for separate funds to set up a Workers' Education Institute in Shanghai, "...to be administered independently with its own staff who are responsible to a board which is to be set up by the respective organisations

plus individuals in the community, who are interested in the cause."¹⁵⁵
The YMCA evidently could not be persuaded to support the proposal,
however, and as no funds were forthcoming for it the project was
stillborn.¹⁵⁶

The beginning of a new decade in 1930 brought new and for the first time Chinese leadership to the industrial programme of the YWCA. Cora Deng Yu-chih had apparently joined the Association at some time in the mid-twenties, and had initially undergone training as a secretary in the 'Student Department' before developing an interest in and an affinity for industrial welfare work. Cora Deng came quite early to the attention of Lily Haass, the veteran Association Industrial Secretary at this time working for the NCC, and Haass suggested that she might be sent as China's industrial representative to the meeting of the World's YWCA in Budapest in 1928, a possibility which did not in the event materialise.¹⁵⁷ Despite her misgivings about her capacity to assume an increasing responsibility for leadership in industrial work,¹⁵⁸ Deng was prevailed upon to try, and was in the autumn of 1929 sent off to England to spend a year in preparation at the London School of Economics.¹⁵⁹

Upon her return to China in 1930 as National Industrial Secretary Deng inherited an Association industrial programme which was essentially paternalistic, and which was particularly concerned with bringing literacy to as many working women as possible. Subtly and almost imperceptibly the orientation of the programme would change under her direction so that it would come to embrace much more of an effort to understand economic problems, and the function of women workers within the system of production. Inevitably, in due course the system itself was brought into question, and it is possible to discern a rising political consciousness on the part of Cora Deng and some of her co-workers as the decade wore on.

In her initial plans for her work, Deng proposed to spend part of her time in Wusih, where the absence of personnel had hampered the Industrial Department's progress, and the rest of her time in Shanghai managing the overall programme and working on a number of projects which would broaden its theoretical scope. In particular Deng wanted to work up a reading course for the industrial secretaries, complete a 'discussion book' on "Women and Money" for publication, and begin a series on other 'economic and labour problems' which would rely heavily on pictorial representation so as to encourage the interest and understanding of working women.¹⁶⁰

"The first series is on the fact that China is not producing enough and needs to produce more. Rice and wheat will be chosen for this purpose. I shall make a comparison as to how much we have produced and how much imported in the last three years by graph presentation. Then try to find the causes, such as civil war effect [sic], lack of forestry, bad communication, inefficient tools, internal tax, etc., by pictures, figures, graphs, and maps. And of course give suggestions as to how we can help the situation. The next series will be on industrial products, showing the elements bringing the industrial revolution and the problems connected with it..."¹⁶¹

In 1930 the Second Industrial Secretaries' Conference was held by the YWCA, under the supervision of Lily Haass. Repeating the precedent established in 1927, the conference brought together for several days all of the Association's industrial staff for a discussion of the Department's problems and priorities. This conference too helped to focus the attention of staff in a different way, and was as Cora Deng remarked "...a piece of educational work on economic and labour problems for ourselves as secretaries".¹⁶²

The following year a limited initiative was taken towards a more active consultation of working women with respect to their needs and the resolution of them, when the Association held its first 'week-end

discussion conference of industrial girls and women' at Nanziang near Shanghai. The conference was attended by ten industrial girls from Shanghai, one from Wusih, and by six industrial secretaries, and took place in a private garden "...fresh with first green leaves and flowers of bright colours and a creek surrounding the whole place [which] offered an ideal spot for such a retreat...".¹⁶³ Discussions were held on three themes: how to improve standards of work through trade unionism, 'employer goodwill', and government action; how to improve one's health; and how to increase the membership of industrial women in the YWCA.¹⁶⁴

"It was the feeling of the group that improvement of their conditions would only come in two ways:- through the effort of labour unions and through legislation such as proposed in the new Factory Law."¹⁶⁵

The group resolved to urge the YWCA to press the Nanking government to enforce its Factory Law 'without further delay'.¹⁶⁶ More interesting is the recognition by the working women that unions were their best hope for improved conditions, even at a time of strict government supervision of unions. The YWCA had supported in principle the extension of trade unionism since the beginning of its industrial work, but even in 1931 still needed to get to grips with this commitment in practice.¹⁶⁷ At a meeting of over a hundred women workers at the Shanghai YWCA in connection with May Day shortly afterwards, dramatic representations and discussions of industrial issues were organised by the working women themselves, leading Cora Deng to observe,

"Working women are conscious of their own problems and are thinking on some ways to remedy them."¹⁶⁸

In January of 1933 the YWCA held its 'Third Conference of Industrial Secretaries'. Extending over six days, the conference appears to have been broader in scope than its predecessors, and to have involved a number of outside speakers.¹⁶⁹ At this conference, it may be argued,

the Association moved a step forward toward recognition of class struggle as the means of fundamentally improving workers' conditions, and committed itself to developing 'a self-directed workers' movement'¹⁷⁰ though it is by no means clear that the Association as a whole or even all of the industrial staff saw the implications of this decision. This new approach on the part of the Industrial Department, and the contradictions inherent in it, will be considered elsewhere,¹⁷¹ but it is appropriate to note here some of the techniques by which delegates to the conference sought to get closer to working women and to heighten their consciousness.

In popular education, the object was no longer only to achieve literacy among working women, and a capacity for self expression, but more explicitly to enable them to improve their livelihood, and to see the value of raising the whole status of working people as opposed to trying individually to get out of the working class.¹⁷² The need was, then,

"To prepare them to assume responsibility for the affairs of their group and community.
To develop their abilities so they may function in organisations working for the advancement of their group."¹⁷³

This was to be achieved in the lower level literacy classes by using course material directly rooted in the daily experience of working women, and by encouraging discussion at every opportunity, what was termed 'leading on', helping the women to become more confident and articulate and to consciously define their own aims. At a more advanced level, graduates of the literacy programme were to be offered courses on 'industrial problems', trade unionism, economics, labour legislation and public speaking.¹⁷⁴ Every effort was to be made to organise and schedule classes in such a way that some of the difficulties which had in the past impeded larger numbers of women from attending the courses would be overcome.¹⁷⁵

In 'club work' with industrial women who had actually become members of the YWCA, recreational projects were to be arranged which would again serve to develop confidence and the solidarity of the group. In the production of a short play about an episode in working class life, for example, a number of issues would be raised which would give rise to discussion. The following sequence is offered as an illustration of what would nowadays be called 'consciousness raising'.

"Analysis of how this play leads on to other interests -
Play 'Before Lunch', by T'ien Han

Girls too tired to practise after night work.	Plan to consider how others may know of evil of night work.
Play about employers or employers' object.	Gives rise to discussion whether aims and interests of employers and workers are the same.
The play is fun.	Want to give another.
Respect was gained by admiration of others for the play.	Discuss how further to increase respect for workers.
Members absent.	Sense of responsibility brought by group.
Quarrel.	Can workers get together?
The leader should be alive to pick up 'leading on' threads; there are many if leader is aware of them.	"176

Club girls were to be encouraged to debate current events, and subjects such as child labour, night work, hours of work, old and new forms of family organisation, and education for women workers.

In pursuing its industrial programme the YWCA had for some time maintained an advisory committee of experts - economists, sociologists, educationalists, doctors, and others - who had also performed a liaison function with the general community. In 1933 it was decided for the first time that workers should also be members of the committee, and that "...if they are not ready yet to participate with

profit, effort should be made to prepare them as quickly as possible..."¹⁷⁷ in order that they could take an increasing share of responsibility. It was further observed that the Industrial Committee ought not to consider only budgets and the like, but ought to concern itself with 'all kinds of publicity', to undertake special studies, and to discuss the 'larger issues' of policy. In reaching out to the community new emphasis was put on the need to bring about an understanding of labour unionism and the class struggle, and to "...change attitudes towards workers and their problems...",¹⁷⁸ aims which might not appear to have been wholly compatible. It was hoped that the Association could establish better contact with labour union leaders, and could arrange meetings at which workers could express their grievances.¹⁷⁹

Looking ahead some months, it was finally proposed at the Industrial Secretaries' Conference that there should be an 'Industrial Assembly' convened in the autumn to coincide with the Third National Convention of the YWCA, the object of which would be "...to develop group consciousness among industrial girls, and to get a further understanding of industrial problems and their part in the solution of them..."¹⁸⁰ In planning the Assembly working women were to be consulted in advance, and it was hoped that the delegates themselves would take the initiative in presenting reports on working conditions and related matters, and putting forward ideas for ameliorating them.

In the event, the Third National Convention was held over several days in August, and the first 'National Assembly of Industrial Girls' met every morning for the course of the Convention from 6.15 to 7.45 am.¹⁸¹ In addition to industrial secretaries twenty-three working women were present, representing Shanghai, Tientsin, Wusih and Chefoo, and drawn from six industries in which mainly women were employed - cotton, silk, cigarettes, hosiery-knitting, hair nets, and lace-making. While it is difficult to determine the extent to which the

Assembly was self-directed,¹⁸² it is reported that the delegates took an active part in the discussions, which centred around the problems of factory legislation, trade unionism, workers' education, and 'changing the present economic system'.¹⁸³ It is suggested that those present saw themselves and their task more clearly than ever before.

"The girls all expressed quite freely their ideas and they all feel that the fundamental way out is for workers to strive for their own emancipation through workers' education and by organising themselves."¹⁸⁴

Industrial issues were also considered as part of the overall programme of the Convention. The working women participated in the general debate, and it is reported that "...their poise won admiration and their opinions and presentation of facts have won respect from nearly all the delegations."¹⁸⁵ The Convention decided that 'Livelihood' would be a major emphasis of the Association henceforth, and that both rural and industrial work would be 'pushed' for the next five years.¹⁸⁶

Taken as a whole, therefore, the period from 1930 to the outbreak of the Japanese war in 1937 witnessed a change in the nature of YWCA industrial work such that it was no longer welfare work for industrial women, but rather work with them. If actual practice fell short of this sometimes, it is at least possible to discern progress in this direction. In this context, then, Cora Deng's remarkable article in the China Christian Yearbook of 1935 on 'Labour Problems', discussed below,¹⁸⁷ appears somewhat less surprising; it represents a fast developing political perspective, and is both a cause and an effect of grass roots involvement with working women. It is interesting to speculate on what the consequences of this new consciousness would have been, both for Cora Deng and for the YWCA's industrial programme, if the beginning of hostilities with Japan had not set the Association's Industrial Department off on a new course.

As the nature of YWCA industrial work changed, so also it is possible to observe a gradual increase in the extent of the work. Projects in mass education, health, club and demonstration work begun before the tenure of Cora Deng were continued and expanded upon, until just before the outbreak of war the Association was reported to be conducting work among industrial women in six cities - Shanghai, Tientsin, Chefoo, Taiyuan, Tsinan, and Hankow, operating nine separate 'groups or centres' in these places.¹⁸⁸ By this time the industrial staff numbered four 'national' secretaries and six local secretaries.¹⁸⁹ In administering the programme, Cora Deng was ably assisted by Lily Haass, who had returned to the Association from the National Christian Council in 1929. Eleanor Hinder appears to have once again worked for the Industrial Department briefly after coming back to China from Australia in 1930,¹⁹⁰ but in 1932 left to join the new Factory Inspection Department of the Shanghai Municipal Council as its first Director. Among the branches, there were some improvements to the services offered,¹⁹¹ while with respect to the objective enunciated in 1933 of having working women serve on each of the advisory 'Industrial Committees', Chefoo managed to achieve a committee only made up of such women, Shanghai had a mixed committee of professionals and workers, and Tientsin and Taiyuan were said to have had exclusively bourgeois women.¹⁹² It would seem, however, that progress was not always easy, particularly outside Shanghai. Industrial work was discontinued permanently in Wusih in 1934 evidently for lack of financial support and local interest,¹⁹³ while the industrial programmes in both Tientsin and Chefoo appear to have been dormant for a time in the 'thirties for much the same reasons, only to re-emerge a few months later.¹⁹⁴

The sudden outbreak of war between China and Japan in the summer of 1937 took the YWCA movement by surprise, despite the record of hostility between the two powers. It would seem that here

as elsewhere the Christian will to peace and accommodation of differences had served to blind the Association to the political realities. There is little evidence to suggest that the YWCA had foreseen the immense burden which a commitment to the mass of working people would place upon its resources in a time of all-out war, or that it had planned for it in any way, though it must be said that the Association's response under the circumstances showed initiative and courage.

The Association's industrial work during the war years may be said to have had three dimensions. In the first place, there was a continuation of the mass education, health, and club work already well-established, though now in much reduced circumstances and subject to the physical limitations imposed by the war. Secondly the YWCA undertook responsibility for a new range of activities the need for which had been created by the war; these included job creation programmes to counter unemployment, the care of refugees, and other relief work among needy families. Thirdly, inspired by the example of the National Christian Council and the Chinese Industrial Co-operative Movement, the YWCA Industrial Department began to sponsor the creation of industrial co-operatives for women. It will be suggested elsewhere¹⁹⁵ that this initiative on the part of some of the industrial reformers in China was their most significant to date, in that the co-operatives provided for job training, a guaranteed livelihood and self-sufficiency within a miniature 'planned' economy, while expanding the political consciousness of workers and developing their capacity for responsibility. This was achieved as a result of collective effort within a community, while at the same time the nature of the work, employing raw materials which were cheap and available, and introducing industry to remote areas where hitherto there had been no real substitute for agriculture as a livelihood, served to bridge the gap which had existed between city and countryside. The novelty and ingenuity of the co-operatives as a solution to a number of problems is by no means less because they were

generated as an expedient during the war emergency.¹⁹⁶ Discounting the abortive beginnings made in the troubled period between 1945 and 1949, they were the last major project undertaken by the industrial reformers in China before the Communists came to power, only to embody many of the principles to be found in the co-ops in their own co-operative experiments, and subsequently in the Communes.

On August 13th 1937 began the Japanese bombardment of Shanghai, and as an immediate consequence of this three of the four industrial centres operated by the YWCA there were forced to close.¹⁹⁷ In the remaining centre, and in other quarters hastily organised the Industrial Department did its best to cope with the enormous influx of refugees, and in due course was able to recommence some of its normal work. Some of the special war emergency work undertaken by the Association is outlined below. While it was possible to sustain operations in Shanghai because of the relative immunity of the International Settlement and therefore of YWCA headquarters from Japanese pressure, the steady advance of Japanese troops in China brought the cessation of industrial work in other cities. By mid-1938 the Association had abandoned its industrial programme in Tsinan and in Taiyuan,¹⁹⁸ while in Hankow the whole of the YWCA staff were evacuated just before the Japanese occupation.¹⁹⁹ In two cities, Chefoo and Tientsin, the industrial programme was pursued for a time after the Japanese had come to be in control, though it is unlikely that the occupation authorities had much sympathy for the Association's brand of welfare. In Chefoo work ceased in 1939,²⁰⁰ while it seems to have disappeared in Tientsin by 1940.²⁰¹ On the other hand, as YWCA personnel moved inland with the flow of refugees, so the concept of industrial welfare work reached into areas where it would otherwise most likely not have penetrated. An industrial programme had been started in Kunming by 1939,²⁰² while co-operative experiments were begun in other smaller towns shortly afterwards.²⁰³ By 1940, of all the cities originally having an

industrial programme, only Shanghai remained, and here there were 701 working women enrolled in classes, and a further 1,283 participating in club activities.²⁰⁴ On a visit to Shanghai early in 1941 Ruth Woodsmall of the World's YWCA observed of this surviving project,

"...it was good to find again in the midst of such-changed conditions, this center full of vigorous, and self-respecting young factory workers, so eagerly taking advantage of the social and educational opportunities offered by the YWCA."²⁰⁵

However, Woodsmall added,

"In connection with the industrial work, it is interesting to note the change in nomenclature. The term 'industrial' is no longer used because this might invite suspicion. 'Social Service' has been substituted."²⁰⁶

In December of 1941, the outbreak of general war in the Pacific and the Japanese occupation of the International Settlement meant that there was no further possibility of foreigners participating in industrial work in Shanghai. Few records have survived of the work undertaken during the occupation, but it would appear that Shanghai maintained at least a skeleton industrial programme throughout the war.²⁰⁷

As has been noted, the war emergency led the YWCA Industrial Department to undertake work of an extraordinary nature in an attempt to ease the suffering among working people, particularly women. In the earliest phase of the war, this distress was perhaps most acute in Shanghai where the density of the population and the proximity of Japanese artillery made for appalling devastation and loss of life. As Shanghai YWCA Industrial Club girls put it in a letter to their counterparts in the United States,

"Our homes are being destroyed; our people are slaughtered; we are living under constant horror and terror of cannon fire, machine gunning and air raids. Some of us have not yet found our family members who became separated from us while escaping from the war zones."²⁰⁸

As an immediate response to this situation the YWCA in the first days of the conflict set up a refugee centre at its general headquarters in the International Settlement, and assisted the other Christian organisations in establishing and operating another, larger, camp for refugees in the Continental Bank Building, also within the Settlement.²⁰⁹ Here food and shelter was provided for the many working people streaming into the Settlement from Chapei, Woosung and other areas of fighting. On the initiative of the YWCA, a system of 'vocational registration' was adopted in these two camps so that the Association would have a record of the particular skills and experience of each refugee, many thousands of whom had lost their jobs in mills and factories closed or gutted during the Japanese bombardment. This idea was taken up by a body known as the Citizens' Emergency Committee, which set up a central Vocational Guidance Committee to gather similar information throughout the approximately fifty refugee camps in the city.²¹⁰ The object of the registration procedure was to try to use the information obtained to find new jobs for the refugees, and thereby to raise morale.

With Shanghai experiencing a period of economic stagnation so long as the production and exchange of goods continued to be threatened by the fighting, it was difficult to find managers willing to take on additional labour. Even where a limited number of jobs was made available, other problems arose. Eleanor Hinder gives the example of the woman from the Western District whose husband prevented her from taking work in a cotton mill in Yangtzepoo for fear of losing her.²¹¹ More generally, Industrial Department personnel found a strong sense of inertia prevailing among women traumatised by the disruption of their daily lives and by personal loss.

"...Had not fate overwhelmed them? Who will blame them for a great sense of fear in stepping out to find new employment? How natural to sit and sit in the only refuge they now knew."²¹²

In many cases, it was discovered that 'deeply ingrained employment methods form almost insuperable obstacles...', inhibiting a quick response to the unemployment crisis.

"There were the fourteen little girls who are in the control of a contractor, who has paid a sum to their parents in the country in return for permission to exploit their little labour. A mill refused to employ them, saying that the contractor would turn up sooner or later and take them again. Then again, these refugee workers have been introduced to management, who has accepted them - obviously the only channel for the Association workers to use. But habit gives the foremen the privilege of introducing new workers, and they pay him for the job they get! It is natural to find then that many workers have found difficulty with foremen, and have had to leave."²¹³

Nonetheless, the YWCA did achieve some success in placing jobless women workers. According to one report, in the first few months of the emergency several hundred women had been found factory work by Cora Deng and her assistant, Helen Chung, most of these individually, but in some cases in groups of from 16 to 60.²¹⁴

As time passed, camp organisers began to appreciate the importance of keeping the refugees busy while waiting for placement or a passage to the countryside, and so set about involving the residents in the maintenance of the camps and in the learning of new handicraft skills. One camp, that on Yu Yuen Road for unemployed women established in December 1937, was described as being like 'a big old Chinese family', where tasks such as cooking, cleaning, gatekeeping, teaching and nursing were divided up according to the interests of the women.²¹⁵ When these tasks were complete, the refugees were encouraged to attend classes in the cutting and sewing of garments, the making of paper flowers, embroidery, applique, hemstitching, the making of toys and shoes, and knitting. Nearly \$2,000 had been made from the sale of items produced in this way during the first few weeks, of which 60% went as wages and the rest to help pay for food and materials.²¹⁶

In time, workers in this camp came to concentrate on the making of garments, shoes and on knitting, for which work they would be paid \$3 to \$4 per month.²¹⁷ There was a growing turnover in the camps, particularly as conditions in Shanghai became more settled in the spring of 1938, and refugees were either assisted to join relatives in the countryside, or returned to the factories, or in some cases were able to find work using their new handicraft or other skills outside the camps. In all, the YWCA had taken care of some two thousand people, the great majority working women, in its three camps. By the spring of 1938 only one camp remained, where 180 women were still in residence.²¹⁸

Apart from doing 'employment' and relief work among the refugees, the Industrial Department of the Shanghai YWCA gave support and encouragement to working women who were already members of the Association, and who took it upon themselves to offer their services to the community during the emergency. Some of them wrote of their activities in October 1937,

"We have organised a 'Women Workers' Service Corps' here in Shanghai. It does the following kinds of work: organising the people who live in a 'li'; first aid corps; sewing groups; wall newspaper committees; committees for collecting contributions; teaching children's classes; helping in health and educational work in the refugee camps; getting assistants for nursing soldiers; laundry squads in the Red Cross military hospitals."²¹⁹

This spontaneous activity led Eleanor Hinder to remark,

"Industrial women, being many of them alert and mature, are a part of the Association Movement. When tragedies hit their number they take their part in planning relief and in dispensing it."²²⁰

Outside Shanghai, the service rendered to refugees took a pattern similar to that already established - the provision of food and shelter, followed by handicraft training and some mass education, and finally

an attempt to find employment for the women - though as the war moved inland Association personnel were increasingly dealing no longer with industrial workers, but rather with peasants displaced from their land by the ravages of battle. In Sian, for example, the YWCA found many refugees from Honan living in caves, and undertook to help them by opening a clinic and starting a spinning project to provide employment. As spinning was by convention a low-paid occupation with wages calculated by piece-work, however, the project ran into difficulty. The women found that they would take three or four days to spin a pound of cotton, which would not bring in enough to pay even for a day's food. In the event, the YWCA decided to overpay the spinners to make it more worth their while to spin than to beg. In this way, one hundred and fifty families were provided with a steady income.²²¹

In the light of difficulties such as these, it is not surprising that the YWCA had for some time been searching for a formula or pattern for assistance to working women which would be more nearly self-sustaining. As the focus of the Association's attention came to move further and further away from the Treaty Ports, the pattern which came to have the most appeal was that of the 'Industrial Co-operative'.

The Chinese Industrial Co-operative Movement was begun in August 1938 on the initiative of Rewi Alley and others with the objective of providing immediate relief and work for refugees while at the same time mobilising as many people as possible for production geared to the war effort.²²² By April of 1939 the CIC had decided to open a Women's Department, and just prior to this, in March, the YWCA itself to the pursuit of the co-operative ideal.²²³ The distinction between the CIC programme and that of the Association was deemed important by the organisers:

"...It was the policy to co-operate with the Chinese Industrial Co-operative Movement in the way of requesting advice and technical help when needed, but to operate the co-operatives independently so that the YWCA could have its own experiment."²²⁴

Two YWCA secretaries were sent to the CIC headquarters for training in the organisation of co-operatives.²²⁵

By September 1939 the YWCA had started its own first industrial co-operative among refugee women in Chengtu. This co-op, variously described as a tailoring co-operative or a sewing co-operative, brought together sixteen women who, with the aid of a YWCA secretary, borrowed capital from the CIC Movement, rented space from the Chengtu YWCA, and secured a contract to make student uniforms. Within three months, capital was paid up and the project considered a success.²²⁶ Other co-ops followed, until at the height of the movement in 1943 the YWCA had under its sponsorship a total of six co-operatives. Apart from the sewing co-op mentioned above, there was also a weaving co-op in Chengtu, an umbrella-making co-op in Kweiyang, a shoe-making co-op in Chungking, a cotton-spinning and weaving co-op in Wusu, and a wool spinning co-op in Penghsien.²²⁷ Proposed co-operative projects under YWCA auspices for Kunming and several other interior cities appear not to have been realised.²²⁸

The co-operatives under YWCA supervision apparently fell into two categories. On one hand there were those, like the Chungking shoe-making co-op, in which the members lived and ate together in addition to carrying on their production in common. On the other, there were those like the Penghsien wool spinning co-op, in which the members lived and ate at home and only came together to work.²²⁹ A third form of co-operative, described in 1943 as still in the process of being worked out, was that in which members would not only live and eat at home, but also work at home.²³⁰ It was suggested that the outworkers who fashioned the soles at home for the shoe co-op, and who in fact outnumbered the co-op members, could be organised into a co-op of their own instead of being only wage earners paid on piece rate. Again, it was hoped that the number of outworkers participating in the Penghsien wool spinning co-op could be increased. It was felt that this form of

co-operative, embracing those women who because they were old or had to attend to household duties could not get away regularly to a central place of work, but who could put in a few hours of labour at home each day, would be particularly suited to China's rural women.²³¹ It would appear, however, that in the event the YWCA never reached the point of developing a co-operative exclusively of outworkers.

Common to all the Association co-operative experiments was a period of training for co-op members, varying in length from a few weeks to four months.²³³ During this time, a skilled worker would be brought in by the YWCA to train the prospective co-op members for their chosen work, whether it be spinning wool, making umbrellas or some other task, while qualified Association personnel would also come to instruct the women for part of each day in literacy, arithmetic, hygiene, and the running of a co-operative.²³⁴ This latter capacity was deemed particularly important, as only when the women themselves were able to assume responsibility for running all of their own affairs was the co-operative considered a success. In the case of the Chengtu sewing co-op, which was probably typical, there was a Board of Managers of five, chosen from among the sixteen women members, and this Board met once a week for a business meeting and once a week with the whole co-op membership for an evaluation meeting at which subjects such as ways and means, terms of contracts, and conditions of work might be discussed.²³⁵ Action on points raised was left to the Board of Managers, however, and theirs also was the responsibility for ensuring a supply of raw materials, and negotiating contacts, finding new markets, and so on. As with the CIC co-operatives, a cardinal principle was that raw materials should be close by, cheap and readily available; indeed, these considerations, coupled with an assessment of the potential market, largely determined the nature of the product.²³⁶

It would appear that some among the YWCA staff saw participation in the co-operatives as 'citizenship training' for the women,

preparation for democracy in the bourgeois sense.²³⁷ Undoubtedly, however, the effect of the experiment on those who took part was much more far-reaching than this, as even the following rather casual observation will show:

"Two years ago these girls would come to the secretaries and say to them, "Please, the YWCA take it over and be the employer and we shall gladly come to be employees, for it is too much responsibility or too difficult to run the business of a co-op." But now, these same girls have noticeably stopped saying such things but have also become the zealous propagandists in winning people to their convictions. In spite of such difficulties in getting both the capital loan and raw materials, none of these girls shrunk from the least bit of responsibility and hardships. The co-operatives are theirs now, and they are proud of being both the owners and the workers in the co-operative movement."²³⁸

Throughout their existence, the co-operatives generally and the YWCA co-operatives in particular were faced with a number of problems. These were broadly technical or financial in nature. On the technical side, the dispersal of YWCA personnel during the war meant that there was an inadequate staff trained in industrial matters to deal with the co-operative programme.²³⁹ Furthermore, because of the disruption of normal communications it may be supposed that it was not always possible for the experience gained in one co-op to profit those engaged in trying to create another co-op elsewhere.²⁴⁰ In setting a co-op up there was always the necessity for the YWCA worker to find raw materials and a market, define a product, raise some capital, and find a worker willing to come, sometimes from a considerable distance, to teach the women the skills necessary to make the product. Even when this was done, there was sometimes a reluctance to accept the co-op idea, particularly among older women.²⁴¹ It is also the case that when the last YWCA co-operative was established at Penghsien in 1943, the training programme for prospective members lasted four months,²⁴² in recognition perhaps that a longer period of preparation for self-sufficiency was necessary than had at first been thought.

On the financial side, the major difficulty was always to secure enough capital to enable a supply of the appropriate raw material to be obtained, any necessary tools to be purchased, and possibly to pay both the craft worker and the trainees a small wage during the period of preparation. In the first case, that of the Chengtu sewing co-op, founded in 1939, a capital loan was forthcoming from the Chinese Industrial Co-operative Movement, with each of the participating women putting in a few dollars herself.²⁴³ In the case of the Kweiyang umbrella co-op, founded in 1941, the CIC Movement provided only a third of the required capital, while the YWCA furnished two-thirds.²⁴⁴ When the Penghsien wool spinning co-op was created in 1943 it was evidently able to secure a capital loan only from the YWCA.²⁴⁵ Money to pay for the training programme in this case was raised by the village fathers and by local officials; extra capital to finance the co-operative once it was a going concern was apparently secured by the issue of shares.²⁴⁶ The decline of the Chinese Industrial Co-operative Movement²⁴⁶ which may be seen at least in part as a function of its loss of favour in the eyes of the Kuomintang, was a cause for lament among those trying to promote co-operatives in the YWCA. As was observed in the Association's annual report on the co-operatives in 1943:

"Unless the newly re-organised CIC Promotion Committee will give more aid and financial help for the newly organised co-ops there will be need of the YWCA...to provide more technical help as well as financial backing to the individual co-ops that have been organised under the local YWCA auspices."²⁴⁷

In the event no more help was forthcoming, and it is to the credit of the YWCA that it was able to maintain its co-operative experiment at its existing level for the duration of the war. After 1943, described as a 'bad year' for the co-operative movement,²⁴⁸ no new Association co-operatives were formed. At the end of the war, four of the six YWCA co-ops were closed 'for various reasons', probably largely financial at a time of dislocation and uncertainty; these were both the

weaving and the sewing co-ops in Chengtu, the umbrella co-op in Kweiyang, and the cotton spinning and weaving co-op of Wusu. Only two co-ops continued to function, at least until 1947 - the Chungking shoe co-op and the wool-spinning co-op in Penghsien - and these were kept open for 'experimental purposes'.²⁴⁹

Taken as a whole, the YWCA industrial programme during the war represented a continuation of the main strands of work established in peacetime, subject to the compromises imposed by the emergency, as well as a development of the new types of work described. This programme had been pursued under the direction of Cora Deng and Lily Haass in Shanghai until the spring of 1939, when the former left China for an extended visit to the United States and Europe.²⁵⁰ Thereafter, it may be supposed that Lily Haass bore much of the responsibility alone until the outbreak of general warfare in the Pacific would have made her position untenable late in 1941.²⁵¹ As the main focus of YWCA activity among working women shifted inland, the burden of directing this work passed largely to secretaries in the various local Associations, who are for the most part unidentifiable.

For her part, Cora Deng arrived in Geneva on May 31st 1939, after a working tour of the United States, and settled down to a period of several months' study at the International Labour Office.²⁵² Here, it is likely that she attended seminars on industrial legislation, factory inspection, workers' education and other subjects, and exchanged information with ILO officials about labour conditions in China.²⁵³ Deng also was able to confer with her Association colleagues at the Geneva headquarters of the World's YWCA on industrial and social strategy.²⁵⁴ It would appear that Hitler's invasion of Poland must have cut short Deng's period of study in Geneva, but that on the outbreak of war she decided not to return immediately to China but rather to travel to the United States once more.

Here it would seem she spent some time in New York, completing an MA thesis for Columbia University in 1941 entitled 'The Economic Status of Women in Industry in China, with Special Reference to a Group in Shanghai', for which she drew on her own extensive research and field work.²⁵⁵ Some time after this, Deng probably returned to China, though it is not at all clear that she resumed responsibility for the YWCA's industrial work either in the latter part of the war or in the post-war period. It would seem that she played a prominent part in the '3-anti' campaign which took place among the Chinese Christian community in the early 1950's.²⁵⁶ At last report, in 1975, Cora Deng was still alive and living in Shanghai.²⁵⁷

At the end of the Pacific war, the YWCA attempted to re-build its industrial programme. Work was begun again in Shanghai and Tientsin, and was initiated for the first time in Canton.²⁵⁸ Mass education, introduced by the Association into the interior during the war, was carried on in Chungking, Chengtu, Kunming, and Nanking, though in these cities the constituency was more frequently among handicraft workers. In 1947 the Association planned to rehabilitate industrial work in Hankow, Wuchang, Chefoo and Tsinan, and to develop a programme in Mukden as soon as possible.²⁵⁹

In its tone, however, the new industrial programme seemed to represent a departure from the progressive analysis of the mid-'thirties, and its objectives were couched in the language of moderation. They were:

- "1. Education for democracy among industrial women and girls.
2. To help girls learn to meet their own problems; the YWCA does not run 'services' for industrial women but tries to help them help themselves.

3. Education of leaders - The population in cities is too large to hope to reach all the girls and women with a club program classes (sic); hence an effort is made to train leaders among the girls.
4. To help industrial women to learn to take part as active citizens in community life by participating in club activities, learning to think for themselves, planning together, expressing their ideas in public, etc."²⁶⁰

The emphasis on the training of 'leaders' was different in spirit from this aspect of the programme as it had been developing under Cora Deng.²⁶¹ A 'Labour Welfare Experimenting Station' set up in Shanghai as a joint project of the National and local YWCA Industrial Departments seems primarily to have been concerned with the production of new textbooks for the literacy classes, and with encouraging the revival of reading, drama, and singing as appropriate activities for working women.²⁶² At a 'Teachers' Training Institute' held in Shanghai in the summer of 1947 courses were offered in history, philosophy, 'YWCA methods', industrial work and education, but "...a consideration of the Christian religion occupied quite an important part of the Institute program, because Christianity is the foundation for character building in the club program of the YWCA."²⁶³

In the event, this rather more conservative industrial programme had no time to take root; the victory of the Communists in 1949 rendered all attempts at gradual reform obsolete and unnecessary. Cora Deng and many others like her remained in China to help build a new society in which the social evils which had been ubiquitous for so many years would very soon cease to exist.

CHAPTER 4

Industrial Work of the NCC

At the end of the First World War, spurred by evidence of the growing complexity of industrial society and, it may be supposed, of the increasing strength of organised labour, the Churches and Christian organisations in Western Europe and North America began to take a new interest in the problems of the working man. At Champéry in France in June 1920 the World's YWCA resolved to develop industrial welfare as an important part of its future work.¹ At its Lambeth Conference in 1921 the Church of England agreed to use its influence "...to remove inhuman or oppressive conditions of labour in all parts of the world, especially among the weaker races...", while the Protestant Church of America the same year, affirming that the 'entire social order' must be Christianised, called for the re-organisation of society "...on the basis of service rather than profit...".² In 1924 major conferences were held by church co-ordinating bodies in Britain on 'Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship' - the so-called COPEC Conference - and in the United States on the 'Christian Way of Life', both of which dealt in part with industrial problems.³ It is not, then, surprising that the Christian forces in China should not remain unmoved by the call to engage in this new sphere of activity.

In particular, interest in industrial welfare work was encouraged in the first instance by three individuals. Grace Coppock, General Secretary of the Chinese YWCA, had taken a prominent part in the Champéry meeting, and in the summer of 1920 urged the British YWCA to send an Industrial Secretary to China as soon as they were able.⁴ In 1919-20 J.B. Tayler, the British Christian chemist turned economist who had taught for some years at Peking University was in London pursuing a Masters degree for the London School of Economics. It was on

his recommendation, upon his return to China, that Grace Coppock engaged Agatha Harrison to be the YWCA's first Industrial Secretary.⁵ In 1920 too the prominent Quaker missionary Henry Hodgkin returned to China after a ten year absence. Hodgkin was concerned with the broad range of mission work, but was especially impressed with the opportunities afforded by the rapid development of pockets of modern industrial society over the previous decade. He observed,

"At the present time quite a considerable number of the men who control large industries in China are Christians. These men are anxious to do the right thing by their employees, but they do not know what to do and lack direction. Any help just now will be peculiarly useful, and may serve to direct development for years to come."⁶

Hodgkin and Coppock and her successors, and later J.B. Tayler, would largely determine the nature of the 'industrial work' of the National Christian Council of China until its demise shortly before the outbreak of war with Japan.

There was as yet, however, no National Christian Council, but only a 'China Continuation Committee' which met every year to carry on in China the work of the World Missionary Conference which had been held in Edinburgh in 1910. Essentially the CCC functioned as a rather loose co-ordinating body which considered matters of common interest to missionaries of the various Protestant denominations active in China. At its meeting in the spring of 1921, the CCC decided to hold the following year a major 'National Christian Conference' at which 'the future task of the Church' would be discussed. At the instigation of Grace Coppock, one of the sub-committees created to prepare a report for the conference was that on 'The Church's Relation to Economic and Industrial Problems', and Coppock was made its chairman.⁷

Coppock and Agatha Harrison drafted the first outlines of the report during informal consultations with missionaries at Pei-tai-ho over the summer. It is a mark of the resistance of some within the

Church to involvement with contentious industrial issues that the committee's report was almost struck from the agenda of the conference when the CCC met again in the autumn of 1921.⁸ In October, Grace Coppock died, and the chair of the committee passed jointly to Zung Wei-tsung of the YWCA and C.F. Remer of St. John's University. Information about working conditions was solicited from missionaries and other Christians throughout China, members were added to the committee, and over the winter it met bi-weekly to discuss its findings.⁹

Even the still rather limited activity of the committee began to generate some outside interest. This became apparent when the World's Student Christian Federation, meeting in Peking in April, agreed to incorporate a daily forum on 'Christianity and Social and Industrial Problems', conducted by Henry Hodgkin, into its programme. The forum was said to have been one of the 'highest points' of the programme, and led to the conference adopting a series of quite far-reaching resolutions on economic matters, the implications of which may not have been wholly appreciated by the delegates themselves.¹⁰

At the National Christian Conference in Shanghai in May 1922, the report of the 'Committee on the Church's Relation to Economic and Industrial Problems' was presented for consideration, and it dealt in turn with each of the three main categories of productive labour - agriculture, handicraft work, and modern industry. With respect to agriculture, the report noted the uncertainty and hardship of rural life in China, which it put down to technical deficiencies rather than to social causes,¹¹ and recommended the training of missionaries in agricultural knowledge, a programme of agricultural education for schools and colleges, and an investigation of the suitability of co-operative credit societies to China.¹² With respect to handicraft industry, the report acknowledged the importance of this form of economic activity in traditional Chinese society, but noted that a decline was taking place in certain handicrafts, particularly textiles, in the face of competition from machines, and expressed the hope that:

"...the Christian Church will make its influence felt toward the conserving of those handicrafts that contribute to Chinese art and toward the building up of an art that will be both Chinese and Christian."¹³

The report went on to suggest that the Church might promote improved methods in the handicraft industry through the staging of exhibitions and the spread of information, and through the encouragement of co-operation among those in various handicraft industries in securing markets at home and abroad, in purchasing raw materials, in arranging credit on better terms, and to enable production to be carried on on a larger scale.¹⁴ The report noted the problems inherent in domestic industry, usually practised by women and girls, and in the apprenticeship system which it found in many cases amounted simply to a form of child labour.¹⁵

The main substance of the report dealt, however, with modern industry, and it is with respect to this that the most important recommendations were made. In general, the report found that all the mistakes made during the process of industrialisation in the West had been repeated in China, but that the result was "...aggravated by the greater ignorance and poverty of the workers..."¹⁶ Particularly, the report observed that wealth was becoming concentrated in a few hands while "...the masses are left as poor as before, but with the added handicap of not owning their own tools..."¹⁷ A working day of from fourteen to sixteen hours was common, the use of high-powered machinery and certain dangerous processes of manufacture entailed grave risks, child labour was prevalent, and women suffered both from night work and from working too close to childbirth. The breakdown of the Chinese family system in these circumstances dramatically impaired the possibility for a better home life, which was "...one of the deepest concerns of the Christian Church..."¹⁸ The report finally observed,

"Conflict between labour and capital has not yet developed in any very acute form, but there are many signs that labour is beginning to be restless and to seek organisation. Unless the obvious mistakes are avoided, it is likely to adopt some of the more reckless measures of the labour movements of the West but with infinitely more serious results due to ignorance."¹⁹

Believing that the existing situation in industry constituted a challenge which the Church must accept, the Committee, in its report, put forward the following specific recommendations:

- "1. That the Church hasten to equip itself with all possible knowledge on the development of modern industry in China, and on the experience of the West upon which we should draw for meeting the situation here.
2. That the Church, recognising the need for a labour standard for China, endorse the setting, as a goal, of the standard adopted at the First International Conference of the League of Nations dealing with:
Hours of work
Unemployment
Employment of women before and after childbirth
Night work for women and children
Safeguarding the health of workers
Child labour.
3. That in view of the difficulty of immediate application of the League of Nations standard to the industrial situation in China, the following standard be adopted and promoted by the Church for application now:
 - a. No employment of children under twelve full years of age .
 - b. One day's rest in seven.
 - c. The safeguarding of the health of workers, e.g., limiting working hours, improvement of sanitary conditions, installation of safety devices." ²⁰

The provisions of part three were subsequently referred to as the 'three-fold labour standard'.

The report further urged that the Church use all the means in its power to secure the recognition of 'fundamental Christian principles' in the economic sphere, that the NCC appoint an ongoing Council on Economic and Industrial Problems with a permanent secretary with a view to gathering more information and promoting better measures of social welfare, and that the universities be encouraged to develop programmes in social science, and Christian institutions to add trained social workers to their staffs so that 'social work' could be accorded the emphasis already given to medicine, education and evangelism.²¹

At the presentation of the report Agatha Harrison of the YWCA and C.C. Nieh, a 'Christian industrialist', spoke in support of it, and a certain amount of discussion followed, both at a plenary session of the conference and at a separate session later at which some sixty people were in attendance. While Harrison appealed to the consciences of delegates, Nieh appealed more directly to their pockets, and to those of the leading industrialists, making the point that,

"...that which improves the conditions of the labourers improves the factory, the industrial situation, and the outlook, and anything which improves factory work for the operators should also improve it for the labourers."²²

The discussion sessions were unremarkable, except for a spirited call for reformed motives in industry from M.T. Tchou of the YMCA.²³

In the event the 'three-fold labour standard' advocated by the Committee on the Church's Relation to Economic and Industrial Problems was accepted by delegates as a minimum standard in one of the few resolutions to be adopted by the conference as a whole, and the Committee was mandated to continue its work. C.F. Remer's warning that in the West "...it has not been the Church, but labour itself, that has won labour standards...in the West labour considers the Church conservative..." went unheeded.²⁴

Beginning in the autumn of 1922, the Committee on the Church's Relation to Economic and Industrial Problems held meetings every two weeks until the next assembly of the National Christian Council in May 1923. The Committee operated under the interim direction of Thomas Tchou of the YMCA, Zung Wei-tsung of the YWCA and Dr. Frank Rawlinson of the NCC.²⁵ As the Committee's objectives became better known endorsements came from several quarters,²⁶ while the visit to China of Sherwood Eddy towards the end of 1922 at the invitation of the YMCA, and his speaking and study tour of some twenty cities, did much to publicise the need for the proposed 'three-fold labour standard'.²⁷ In December the Committee organised a two-day conference in Shanghai at which Church and other Christian delegates met to hear Eddy, and to plan for 'industrial work' in the months ahead.²⁸ As a result of the conference local committees were formed in a number of cities to investigate industrial conditions, and these groups were further encouraged by visits during the winter from members of the central committee in Shanghai.²⁹ The Committee began to publish pamphlet material about industrial questions, which it distributed in response to requests for information.³⁰

At the May 1923 meeting of the National Christian Council, the Committee was put on a permanent footing and was later to be known as the 'Industrial Commission' of the NCC, though no request was yet made for a permanent staff.³¹ Henry Hodgkin was invited to join the Commission.³² While for the most part delegates gave voice for a second time to the aspirations which had been expressed a year earlier, a series of discussions did give rise to a more precise definition of the Commission's functions. These were to be:

- "1. The promotion of an educational campaign with particular reference to theological students, pastors, and other Christian leaders.
2. To secure demonstrations of the application of Christian industrial principles by having the staff render assistance, when invited, to local centres on some definite problems.

3. Study and research.
4. To draw up detailed programmes for local use; these programmes to emphasise the direct application by Christians of Christian principles to industrial conditions with which they are connected, or for which they are responsible.
5. To act as a central clearing house on industrial questions."³³

Pains were taken to emphasise the need for information to be gathered through systematic study.

The Commission adjourned for the summer, but began meeting again in the autumn of 1923. At this time a 'Cabinet' was created as a kind of standing committee within the Industrial Commission. Composed of Thomas Tchou, Henry Hodgkin, Dr. Frank Rawlinson, Agatha Harrison, Zung Wei-tsung, Mary Dingman and Gideon Chen, the Cabinet met three times a week throughout the winter to promote the work of the Commission.³⁴ Hodgkin became the Secretary of the Cabinet, and in due course Gideon Chen was employed by the NCC as its Assistant Secretary, the Cabinet's first full-time officer.³⁵ Early in the New Year the Cabinet resolved to hold, at Thomas Tchou's suggestion, a series of local conferences on 'Church and Industry' in 1924, regional conferences in 1925 and a national conference in 1926.³⁶ It was also agreed that a news bulletin would be published from time to time, and the first issue, entitled Christian Industry, appeared in March.³⁷ This edition contained news of further visits by members of the Cabinet to local centres, and of the tour of China in connection with the investigations of the Child Labour Commission by Dame Adelaide Anderson, former Chief Lady Inspector of Factories in Britain.³⁸

In its report of May 1924 to the now annual conference of the National Christian Council, the Industrial Commission reviewed progress and set forth its plans. There was much repetitious expression of goodwill as in previous years, but by now these declamations, in the absence of

any really concrete progress, must appear a little hollow.³⁹ Nonetheless, there had been certain steps forward during the year. The list of items published by the Commission had grown considerably as its members contributed short tracts on various aspects of industrial life, or translated the work of others. In particular an 'Industrial Reconstruction' series was begun, in one issue of which a plan of action was put forward for a local centre beginning 'industrial work'.⁴⁰ According to this plan it was proposed that a local committee should isolate and study one or two outstanding problems, should seek the co-operation of the Church and 'Christian employers' in publicising their findings, and should agitate for reform of conditions through "...the public press,,,, special literature...public meetings...use of the pulpit, through posters, approach to leading citizens, etc...".⁴¹ The Commission's programme for publication of treatises on industrial matters offered an outlet for the dissemination of information uncovered in studies to which the new interest in industry had given rise in various parts of China.⁴²

Another development the Commission was able to report was that it had organised special courses for students of 'industrial work' to be given at the East China University Summer School, to be held in 1924 at St. John's University in Shanghai.⁴³ Repeating the precedent established by the YWCA at Tsinan the previous year, the most important courses were given in English and Mandarin.⁴⁴ Admission was reserved to those with at least a Middle School Diploma, men or women, and preference given to individuals who intended to become actively involved in ameliorative work. Central to the programme were courses in 'Elementary Economics', 'Industrial History', 'Special Industrial Problems', and 'Social Theories' "...such as State Socialism, Guild Socialism, Communism, etc...",⁴⁵

Looking to the future, the Commission was able to envisage an expanded industrial programme consequent upon the engagement of

Gideon Chen on a full-time basis, and on receipt of the Rockefeller Foundation's gift of \$5,000 Gold a year for three years, news of which had just reached the NCC.⁴⁶ For the coming year a budget of \$4,500 Chinese was proposed by the Commission, and apparently granted, a sum substantially in excess of the \$1,296.14 spent over the financial year 1923-24.⁴⁷ Indeed this latter amount fell far short of the budget provision made by the NCC for industrial work, and it is perhaps revealing that the report should observe in explanation,

"The expenses of the Commission have been much less than was anticipated, owing mainly to the fact that the work has been only gradually developed and has not yet by any means reached its maximum."⁴⁸

If the record of the Industrial Commission itself was not fully up to expectations, a number of projects to which it had given encouragement were progressing more smoothly. In Shanghai, the Child Labour Commission appointed by the Municipal Council of the International Settlement at the instigation of the Christian reformers had been meeting since June 1923 to gather evidence. The report of the Commission would be presented to the Council in the autumn of 1924, and members of the NCC Industrial Commission would be active in the campaign to promote acceptance of its recommendations for the limitation of child labour in the spring of 1925.⁴⁹

The use of white phosphorous in the manufacture of matches was another industrial evil to which reformers turned their attention in 1924. The use of white phosphorous in this way had been banned in many Western countries since 1908 because of the appalling disease 'phossy-jaw' in which it resulted.⁵⁰ In the spring of 1924 therefore the Industrial Commission resolved to engage a medical expert to study the effects of the continued use of this phosphorous in China, and in this they had the endorsement of the China Medical Missionary Association.⁵¹ Dr. G.T. Maitland began his study on September 1st, visiting hospitals

and factories to collect data,⁵² and when the International Labour Office official Pierre Henry came to China shortly afterwards, he accompanied him on his tour of regions in the north and east.⁵³ When his salary from the Industrial Commission ran out, Maitland stayed on at his own expense in order to be able to present his findings to the conference of the China Medical Missionary Association in Hong Kong on January 20th.⁵⁴ This he did, and also published his findings in an article, 'The Use of White Phosphorous in Match-making' in the China Journal of Arts and Science.⁵⁵ Reprints of the article were distributed widely by the NCC Industrial Commission, and a text in English and Chinese was prepared for middle school students.⁵⁶ In response to this agitation the Peking Government promulgated an ordinance forbidding the manufacture of white phosphorous matches after January 1st 1925, and their sale after July 1st, though as there was no provision for enforcement of the regulation it may be supposed that little notice was paid to it.⁵⁷ Efforts to have the authorities of the International Settlement adopt the standard, encouraged by Pierre Henry,⁵⁸ appear to have met with no result.

Still earlier, in January 1923, a local 'Shanghai Committee on the Church and Industry' had been established in the first flush of enthusiasm after Sherwood Eddy's visit, with a view to investigating conditions of life and labour in and around Shanghai.⁵⁹ While it was intended that this committee should be a separate and distinct entity, there was inevitably a good deal of overlap in both its personnel and activity with the Industrial Departments of the YMCA and the YWCA, and with the national Industrial Commission of the NCC. Indeed, those individuals who were not conspicuously involved with several organisations appeared to lose interest and drop out after a time.⁶⁰ In 1924 Edith Johnston reported that the committee was actively engaged in research into occupational diseases, into the possibility of a 'part-work part-education' scheme for children, and into wages and the cost

of living in Shanghai. It was also petitioning the Kiangsu and Chekiang provincial governments for enactment of labour legislation, and was "...trying to get in touch with the various Labour Unions that are springing up and to understand them, and to see how we can co-operate and help...".⁶¹

From the autumn of 1924 the attention of the Shanghai committee members was focussed on the campaign to restrict child labour, in which many of them took part. Anticipating victory in this campaign on April 15th, the local committee had prepared to hold the first industrial conference in Shanghai for two and a half years from May 8th to 11th 1925, and despite the unexpected reverse of fortune at the Ratepayers Meeting, the conference duly went ahead.⁶² Topics taken up included 'New Motives for Old in Business and Industry', 'The Old Chinese Civilisation and the New Order', and 'Our Task in Shanghai', and the sessions, in Cantonese, Mandarin and Shanghainese were said to have been attended by social workers, students, several pastors and 'certain labour leaders'.⁶³ The conference had in part been intended to serve as a model for those which the NCC had hoped to promote in other local and regional centres, but in the wake of the May Thirtieth massacre, and probably also because of the uncertainty attendant upon the progress of the Northern Expedition, nothing further in this vein materialised until the major 'Conference on the Christianising of Economic Relations' over two years later.

Ironically, the Shanghai committee did try to investigate the causes of the strike against the Japanese cotton mill which gave rise to the May Thirtieth incident, with respect to which Mary Dingman observed at the end of February 1925,

'Happily that seems to be about over, but I am sure there is much to be learned from it if only we can get accurate information.'⁶⁴

The belief that strikes were fuelled by acute economic deprivation led the committee in 1926 to pursue more actively its research into the cost of living in Shanghai, at a time when most of its other work had been allowed to lapse.⁶⁵ When a preliminary survey had been completed, the project was taken over by the Bureau of Markets of the Nanking Government's Ministry of Finance.⁶⁶ Subsequently, other similar studies were undertaken by the authorities of the Municipality of Greater Shanghai.

The loss of initiative in the cost of living study dealt a further blow to the Shanghai Industrial Committee, and in early 1927 Eleanor Hinder describes it as being 'nearly dead'.

"...it ran round in circles. There was no activity in the programme, and hence little life-- the thing resolved itself into just two or three people at the end."⁶⁷

A successor organisation, the Shanghai International Industrial Service League, was active briefly in 1927 arranging forums on labour standards and factory visits for concerned members of the general public, but this too seems to have passed into oblivion within a year or so.⁶⁸

One other parallel development encouraged by the Industrial Commission of the National Christian Council in the mid-'twenties was the attempt to establish and find funds for a proper 'Institute of Social and Economic Research' which would bring professional expertise and resources to bear in a systematic investigation of conditions of life and labour in China. The need for a permanent body of this kind had been expressed as early as 1922 by no fewer than three of the committees reporting to the first National Christian Conference,⁶⁹ and had subsequently been urged by the China Christian Educational Commission⁷⁰ and at the Conference of Christian Colleges and Universities in Nanking in 1924.⁷¹

The institute was brought a step nearer realisation in January 1924 when John Rockefeller, at the time of his pledges to the other Christian organisations, promised \$5,000 Gold to send an expert to China, "...to make a preliminary survey with a view to determining whether such an institute is necessary and desirable."⁷² The idea of a preliminary reconnaissance was taken up by the Institute of Social and Religious Research in New York, which agreed over the summer in correspondence with the NCC Industrial Commission to help organise a committee to carry out the task.⁷³ Both Rockefeller and the Institute in New York were concerned that there should be significant Chinese participation in the project. J.B. Tayler of Yenching University was appointed Chairman of the Reconnaissance Committee, to be joined later by Dr. Royal Meeker from the United States and several other members recruited locally, and the committee scheduled its first meeting in Shanghai for January 5th 1925.⁷⁴

What the Reconnaissance Committee actually did during the year or so of its existence must remain something of a mystery, as almost no documentary record of its progress appears to have survived. It may be inferred, however, that it travelled about the country gathering evidence as to the effect of wages and the cost of living on strikes, of occupational diseases on the health of workers, and other material which would serve to justify the creation of a permanent institute to carry out an ongoing study of these phenomena.⁷⁵ It must be supposed that the recommendation of the Reconnaissance Committee was positive, as a new 'Institute of Economic and Social Research' had been set up by mid 1926 with its headquarters in Peking.⁷⁶ Given the rise in patriotic feeling in the wake of the May Thirtieth incident, and as J.B. Tayler had in any event been granted only a year of leave from Yenching University, the Institute was placed under the direction of the Chinese economist, L.K. Tao.⁷⁷ In the autumn of 1926 the Institute undertook jointly with the Shanghai Industrial Committee the

preliminary cost of living study in Shanghai mentioned above, with a view to embarking on a more comprehensive study the following year in order to "...get an index figure as a basis for fixing wages...".⁷⁸

It was claimed, however, that the new Institute's freedom of action was limited by its lack of long-term financial support, despite the considerable initial boost given it by Rockefeller, and a new commitment for some measure of assistance made in 1926 by the China Foundation.⁷⁹ When two appeals for support to the British Boxer Indemnity Commission⁸⁰ evidently yielded no tangible result, the Institute appears to have been merged fully into the China Foundation as its 'Department of Social Research'.⁸¹ As has already been noted, the cost of living study in Shanghai was taken over by an agency of the Nanking Government in 1927.

Throughout this period, there had been some change of leadership within the Industrial Commission of the NCC. The departure of the Commission's Secretary, Henry Hodgkin, in May 1925 and that of its Assistant Secretary, Gideon Chen, and one of its most active contributing members, Mary Dingman, in June coincided with the collapse of the campaign for limitation of child labour, and heralded a less optimistic time for the Christian reformers of industry.⁸² All three went to England, Hodgkin on furlough, Chen for what proved to be two years of study, and Dingman to return to her post as Industrial Secretary of the World's YWCA in London. In November William Paton, Chairman of the Commission, also left to go on furlough.⁸³ Hodgkin's place was taken by Lily Haass, whose secondment to the NCC for an undefined period was approved by the YWCA in March 1925.⁸⁴ A new staff member, T.P. Meng, replaced Gideon Chen, taking the title of Associate Secretary in September⁸⁵, while Dr. Frank Rawlinson became Chairman of the Commission on the resignation of William Paton.⁸⁶

The Rockefeller Foundation had in 1924 granted \$5,000 Gold a year for three years to the National Christian Council "...to be used in promoting right ideas and ideals among the Churches, with reference to their relation to men, women, and children in industry..."⁸⁷ and this money began to be available shortly after Haass had joined the NCC, providing for her salary and that of her assistant, an expanded programme of publication, and other incidental expenses. This shot in the arm had not come at the most opportune time, however, and Haass in the autumn of 1925 complained of her sense of isolation.

"Here in the office it is not easy to learn just where we stand. Too many of you disappeared all at once."⁸⁸

While the Industrial Commission was convened from time to time, there is no indication that it met with anything like the frequency of three times a week of its old Industrial Cabinet, now disbanded.

Nonetheless Haass went ahead with the formulation of a new strategy for the Commission. This, she began to feel, should have two dimensions to it. On one hand, the Commission should be concerned with "...spiritualising the labour movement...through education in the broader sense, particularly citizenship training classes and discussion groups...", and on the other it should be concerned with the problems of hand industries, which were "...still the largest aspect of labour problems in China...".⁸⁹ Increasingly, Haass dwelt on the latter dimension, as she felt that a campaign to improve conditions in handicraft industry could embrace many Christian field workers who had not previously accepted any responsibility for the state of affairs in industry.

"City after city reports that they have no industrial problem - meaning in the sense of modern industry, to which we have mainly directed our attention. We are going to begin then by having a church rather than a city-wide committee face the problem of its immediate district, which in most cases will mean handicraft industry, and try to meet the needs they discover exist there."⁹⁰

Cities in which it was proposed to hold 'experimentation conferences' in 1926 were Nanking, Hangchow, and possibly Soochow.⁹¹ The bulletin Christian Industry was no longer to concentrate on Western industrial thinking and experiments, but was to be re-shaped so that it would "...appeal to the average pastor and Christian worker..."⁹²

"Reports of what has actually been done for apprentices and in part-time education, incidents and outlines for sermon use, expression on the part of pastors themselves as to what they think of it all - these are to be its main aspects."⁹³

It was, as Haass observed, a little like 'primary work after college', but in the circumstances she saw no other way of moving ahead. At the Annual Meeting of the National Christian Council in October 1926, the first for over two years, the name of the Industrial Commission was changed to the 'Committee on Christianising Economic Relations' as a reflection of its broader preoccupations.⁹⁴ Its work was defined "...more in terms of the promotion of inquiry through conferences, study outlines, etc..." while it was felt that the YM and YWCA would be called upon specifically for the implementation of projects.⁹⁵

In December 1926 Lily Haass was dealt a major blow by the loss of her Associate Secretary, her most important staff member. The reasons for his departure are of some interest, as they are symptomatic of a growing sentiment among the younger part of the Chinese Christian constituency. Lily Haass writes:

"Just now I feel as though the waters would drown me. Mr. Meng, the young man who has been working with me, has just, after a visit to Canton to help in a survey there, handed in his resignation on the grounds that Christianity is a failure, cannot meet the real needs of China, and other alternatives must be sought - ie. revolution. It is a part of the movement sweeping from the South - the movement that is the most hopeful thing on the horizon for checking militarism. It is being successful, as Christianity is not. It is also bringing, in its left wing, a belief in the supremacy of material forces, and a denial of spiritual forces. Mr. Meng is a product of Christianity in China at its best: his family were persecuted in Boxer days, he is a graduate of Yenching.

I cannot comfort myself with the belief that he has not understood Christianity nor that he has not [had] a chance to see the social passion in it. What crushes me is the fact that we don't seem to be able to share the spiritual experience that rises up at such a time and says 'I know that my Redeemer liveth'. "96

For much of the time after Meng's resignation, Lily Haass laboured alone in preparation for the first National Conference on Christianising Economic Relations in August 1927.⁹⁷

The 'Conference on Christianising Economic Relations' held under the auspices of the National Christian Council took place in Shanghai from August 18-28, 1927. An event of major importance in the brief history of Christian industrial reform efforts in China, it was hoped that the Conference would bring bold steps forward in Christian thinking on economic problems.

'It did not attempt to express a complete social theory or doctrinaire solutions, but its frank recognition of the evils of large property holding, and its advocacy of the limitation of large landholdings, its questioning of the sources and use of income and the division of profits, and its acceptance of the ideal, 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs', mark tendencies far-reaching in their results. " 98

If these ideals were not subsequently translated into reality, this must in part have been because the issues taken up meant different things to different people, and because the Christian forces in China were if anything growing not more socially-oriented, but less so.

The Conference, conducted completely in Chinese, was attended by nearly sixty delegates, most of whom were by now familiar figures in the movement for industrial reform.⁹⁹ As might have been expected, the programme provided for consideration of the problems of workers

in modern industry, of rural economic problems, and of the relation of Christianity to social progress. Papers of varying length were given under these three broad headings, and were usually followed by discussion to permit the expression of the views of other delegates. The conference was punctuated by religious exercises, and by addresses by invited speakers, most of whom concentrated on a theoretical exposition of the duty and the opportunity afforded to Christianity in the economic sphere.¹⁰⁰

With respect to modern industry, short papers were given on industrial conditions in Canton, and on the labour movement, both in Wuhan and generally,¹⁰¹ but the most informative and precise presentations were given on industrial conditions in Wusih and Changchow, by Dju Yu-bao, and in Shanghai by Eleanor Hinder, both of the YWCA. Hinder particularly, recalling past resolutions on economic matters adopted by the NCC, urged the conference to reach a consensus and state its position on questions such as the length of the working day and the working week, the continued use of child labour, the custom of permitting labour contractors to act as intermediaries between workers and employers, the use of the specious 'bonus system' in industry which often led workers to put in even more hours of labour than they were already obliged to give in the hope of a small reward, the proposed 'cost of living study' of the Government's Bureau of Markets, and the rise of the labour movement and the relation of Christian groups to it.¹⁰² Many of these points were taken up in the ensuing discussion and came to be embodied as resolutions at the end of the conference, although the suggestions made by some participants that both workers and employers were "...ready for a longer working day..."¹⁰³ or that given a weekly rest day workers would occupy themselves "...in gambling and other undesirable ways..."¹⁰⁴ show that it was an uphill struggle. Significantly, it was found necessary to observe,

"Coercive measures, granting relief from work for one half-day, on condition that workers attend church services, were not likely to have good results."¹⁰⁵

On the rural side, papers were offered on 'rural economic problems' - especially credit, marketing and farm tenancy - the peasant movement in Kwangtung, and farmers' unions in Chekiang and Kiangsu.¹⁰⁶ Rather surprisingly, despite earlier signs of a new interest in handicrafts, it would seem that the problems of handicraft industry were hardly considered at the Conference. During discussion it became apparent that while some delegates favoured communal ownership of land, others felt that the existing family-sized unit was 'the most efficient'.¹⁰⁷ The distribution of profits between landlord and tenant was held by a majority of those present to be "...a technical matter on which they could not express an opinion..."¹⁰⁸ Some were at pains to point out "...the tenant's responsibility for the fullest production...".¹⁰⁹ The Church was urged to take steps to promote credit co-operatives, eligibility for membership of which would depend normally on judgment of character, but might sometimes rely on material possessions.¹¹⁰ Discussion of farmers' unions revealed that "...in some parts of the country the membership had a large per cent of troublemakers, and in others a large per cent of good farmers."¹¹¹

With respect to 'Christianity and Economic Problems', a paper was given by C.Y. Hsu in which the writer sought to call attention to communism as the chief threat to Christianity.

"Communists urge revolution, while Christianity would change society by peaceful methods. We have seen the results of the use of violence as a means of changing the social order in Russia."¹¹²

In the course of discussion, the merits and demerits of private property were argued, those in favour emphasising the incentive it was alleged to provide, and those who, if not opposed, had reservations, deploring the social evils which its accumulation often produced. In modern

industry workers' councils to provide for participation in management and profit-sharing were suggested as means of alleviating the worst excesses.¹¹³

In the case of both industry and agriculture, 'findings committees' were appointed whose task it was to embody the consensus of the Conference as expressed in discussion in a series of specific resolutions. With respect to modern industry the Conference endorsed the following principles:

- Freedom of association for all workers.
- A minimum wage.
- Progress towards the eight-hour day.
- One day's rest in seven.
- No child labour for children under twelve.
- Special protection for women workers.
- Formation of shop committees and arbitration boards.¹¹⁴

Toward the end of achieving these standards, a variety of means was suggested, most of which had been employed before. They included the training of more industrial welfare workers, the provision of courses in labour problems, the promotion of workers' education, special study projects, campaigning for legislation, and encouraging employers to improve conditions. Delegates were also urged to "...join in the patriotic movements for freedom and justice to the workers".¹¹⁵

Resolutions on rural economic problems dealt mainly with farm tenancy and co-operatives. In particular the Conference called for government limitation of large landholdings, a formula for the reduction of rent where crop yields fell below normal, experiments with marketing co-operatives, and the establishment of rural co-operative credit and savings societies supported by a fund to be administered by the Committee on Christianising Economic Relations.¹¹⁶ The Conference also recommended the introduction of better seeds, fertilisers, and other technical improvements.¹¹⁷ In order that the Church could play

a role in bringing about these changes, it was suggested that training should be offered to rural clergy through correspondence courses, summer schools and similar means, that the Committee should sponsor an investigation of farm tenancy, and that the Church should do all it could to co-operate with the constructive measures of farmers' unions.¹¹⁸

On the subject of 'Christianity and Economic Problems' the Conference deplored the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, and urged Christians to practise philanthropy and moderation in their personal lives. While income derived 'from personal services, and from capital invested in constructive enterprise' was regarded as legitimate, income 'whose source is speculation and monopoly' was not to be so regarded.¹¹⁹ Christians were encouraged to "...study how economic co-operation can take the place of economic competition, and at the same time promote the incentive to work, invention, and progress...".¹²⁰ As has been noted, the Conference endorsed the ideal 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his need', invoking the traditional sanction of the need for harmony in society, which it was suggested the realisation of this ideal would achieve.¹²¹

While these 'findings' appear to have been approved by the Conference the day before its closure, it is not clear whether the views embodied in them represent a consensus or only a majority of those present.¹²² Certainly there was scope for differing interpretations of what had been achieved, even among those most closely involved with the Conference. While Lily Haass felt that the conclusions reached were 'a distinct advance in thinking', and wondered "...what will happen when their full import dawns on some people..."¹²³ Henry Hodgkin was pleased that "...the whole drift of it was away from the extremes which have been so popular during the last year or two...".¹²⁴

"There was a clear visualising of a future in which economic relations would match more nearly with Christian principles, but at the same time a great

disinclination to rush into hasty experiments,
and an unwillingness to regard the revolutionary
method as the only way of achieving the results."¹²⁵

The contradictions between these two views, and between the industrial 'activists' on one hand, and the much more numerous and largely disinterested Christian constituency on the other, would in the event prove decisive.

As if the Shanghai Conference had exhausted both the creative resources of its organisers and the sympathy of the public, little would be accomplished by the Committee on Christianising Economic Relations over the next two and a half years. While a number of new items had been added to the list of publications for distribution,¹²⁶ and the occasional local meeting or study project may have been attempted, it would appear that the Committee took no new initiatives of any note between 1927 and 1930. Indeed, the scope for industrial welfare work, at a time of growing political repression, was increasingly limited.

By February 1928, Gideon Chen had rejoined the Committee as Assistant to Lily Haass after an absence of nearly three years,¹²⁷ but in February 1929 offered his resignation again on the grounds that "...the labor is fruitless, and the movement is not progressing...".¹²⁸ In a letter to Mary Dingman he complained about Kuomintang harassment of the labour movement, and also observed,

"A tendency toward individual salvation and spiritual revival in a narrow sense has been popular among the Churches. It makes industrial work tremendously difficult to push."¹²⁹

Chen's resignation became effective in June, and he went to Yenching University to assist J.B. Tayler with the training of welfare workers.¹³⁰

Gideon Chen's assessment of the prospects for industrial work under the NCC was confirmed by Lily Haass, when she observed that

the re-organisation of the Council which took place at its Annual Meeting in May 1929 to make it more representative, was also likely to make it 'very much more conservative'.¹³¹

"It looks as though the chief emphasis of the future were to be on the lines of a five-year evangelistic campaign. All of this, as you may judge, does not create a very bright outlook for our kind of work. Perhaps it is necessary for the Chinese church, discouraged and weak as it is, to have the impetus that would come from that kind of a campaign, but I cannot but wish that we had put our energy into getting deeper content in the Christian message such as would meet the political and social demands of the time, rather than continuing to create more Christians of the same kind that we have."¹³²

By the autumn of 1929, Haass herself had left the NCC to go on furlough and then to return to the Industrial Department of the YWCA.

A replacement for Gideon Chen, a returned student named William Wang,¹³³ does not appear to have lasted very long with the NCC, and with the departure of Lily Haass the Committee on Christianising Economic Relations became dormant for a time, with no one at all to direct it in the last few months of the decade.¹³⁴ As a final act, Gideon Chen and Lily Haass had prepared in Chinese a long-awaited 'Industrial Handbook for Social Workers'.

"It contains in brief form much of the information that people have been looking for and is so up-to-date and so reliable, having in it all our pooled knowledge, and the information that we have acquired in these recent years, that I think there is nothing else quite in the same class."¹³⁵

Early in 1930 the National Christian Council, with no active members on its Committee for Christianising Economic Relations, approached J.B. Tayler to make plans for the future of the Committee,

and to be responsible for a specific investigation into rural industries. Tayler accepted, and in carrying out this task he was to be assisted by Gideon Chen, now at Yenching.¹³⁶ From the beginning it was clear that the appointment was to be a temporary one, perhaps as much at Tayler's insistence as by any wish of the NCC, for he had been close to Lily Haass and her work long enough to appreciate the difficulties she had faced and was aware that the NCC now consisted "...largely of the older generation of pastors who, in China, are not as socially minded as the group which has hitherto dominated the Council."¹³⁷

By mid-April, Tayler had formulated in outline the Committee's programme for the next four years, and had it approved by the Administrative Council of the NCC. The Committee's responsibility during the 'five year movement' to which the NCC was committed was to be the 'social interpretation of Christian stewardship', in particular 'evangelism among the industrial classes', the production and distribution of literature both for working people and interested Christians, the promotion of social study circles in the Churches, and an investigation of the position of apprentices.¹³⁸ In addition to having these ongoing responsibilities Tayler felt that the Committee should undertake two major projects, the first to bring several foreign experts to China for a period of teaching and study, and the second to go ahead with research into small-scale industry.

The idea of bringing European or American expertise to China as a means of publicising and promoting industrial reform was not new; Sherwood Eddy, Dame Adelaide Anderson and others had visited China for varying lengths of time in the 'twenties, and a distinguished speakers series had been planned by the YMCA in 1924, though it had not achieved fruition.¹³⁹ In this case, Tayler wanted to bring Mary Van Kleeck of the Russell Sage Foundation, vice-chairman of the International Congress of Working Women, to China for an extended period, and two or three men like Seebohm Rowntree from England, or the 'Christian

employers' Dennison and Hapgood from the United States for shorter visits.¹⁴⁰ Another name subsequently suggested to Tayler was that of Angus Watson, a manufacturer from Newcastle-on-Tyne.¹⁴¹ The object was to find those people who could contribute the skills needed for "...industrial welfare as we understand it in England, or in employment management as they interpret it in America..."¹⁴² with a view to determining how this experience could be applied in China. One possibility was that some of these experts might collaborate with the China Institute of Scientific Management recently established by H.H. Kung's Ministry of Industry and Commerce.¹⁴³

"My hope is that we should conclude with a large conference on this subject at which some prominent government officials, leading business men, social workers and so on, would be brought together to discuss the possibilities in China with these experts, and that an Institute for the promotion of such activities should be set up as the result of that conference."¹⁴⁴

In promoting the second project, the study of rural and small-scale industry, Tayler was looking for a way of helping farmers, especially those in North China whose hardships were increased by uncertain rainfall and long winters, by finding the most appropriate subsidiary industries which could be developed locally as a means of supplementing their income.¹⁴⁵ The implications of this approach could be very far-reaching.

"...a few of us are feeling that the technical improvement of small-scale industry, and the bulking and standardisation of its products through co-operative marketing arrangements very much on the lines followed in regard to agriculture, is a better method of developing industry in China than the introduction of large, joint-stock corporations, except in cases in which technical considerations make large-scale units necessary."¹⁴⁶

Tayler had himself already completed a study of the Hopei pottery industry, where he felt worthwhile improvements could be made,¹⁴⁷

and had sanctioned a study on behalf of the NCC of the possibilities in the woollen industry in North-West China, where he was convinced durable woollen clothing could be manufactured as cheaply as the wadded cotton garments worn by most of the population.¹⁴⁸ A model for the 'efficient federation of small-scale units', he believed, might sooner be found in continental Europe or in India than in England or the United States where modern industry was most advanced, though he nevertheless hoped for practical assistance from the Industrial and Social Department soon to be created by the American-based International Missionary Council.¹⁴⁹ In the event little help was forthcoming from this source.¹⁵⁰

For the remainder of the year, Tayler was occupied principally with the preparations for the Conference on the People's Livelihood, to be held under the auspices of the Committee on Christianising Economic Relations in February 1931, and with his attempt to bring to China R.H. Tawney, the noted English economist. Tayler first heard in May that Tawney had expressed a desire to spend some time in China during a sabbatical leave which he was about to be offered by the London School of Economics.¹⁵¹ Tayler wrote to Tawney, extending him a formal invitation to come to China under the sponsorship of the National Christian Council, but a condition of the proposal was that Tawney spend one term teaching two courses at Hsing Hua University, probably because financial stringency compelled Tayler to seek the support of the University in meeting Tawney's expenses.¹⁵² Apparently this was not the most attractive offer put to Tawney, and by July it was clear that he was coming to China under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations.¹⁵³ Nonetheless as things worked out Tayler was able to secure at least part of Tawney's time in China as well as his services as the keynote speaker at the Conference on the People's Livelihood.

The Conference on the People's Livelihood took place in Shanghai from February 21st to 28th 1931. Appropriately enough for a gathering

which was in many ways more orthodox and sombre than its predecessor of 1927, the conference was opened by H.H. Kung, the Kuomintang Minister of Industries, who called for the application of scientific method in harnessing the natural resources of China and the 'innate industrial capacity' of her people.¹⁵⁴ In both agriculture and industry,

"...productive efficiency...is altogether too low. Its improvement is fundamentally necessary to the raising of wages and standard of living."¹⁵⁵

The message of Kung and of a good many other speakers was that through scientific survey and the passage of legislation, allied to technical change where necessary, China's economic and social ills could be overcome. In Eleanor Hinder's view, the conference represented a 'notable advance' on that of 1927, a progression from 'hopes' to 'scientifically based experiments',¹⁵⁶ but while it is true that the state of knowledge had advanced, and the information presented was much more comprehensive and precise than had been the case earlier, so too was there less questioning of the existing social order, and a greater remoteness from the true spirit and aspirations of working people - a retreat into formalism in the search for solutions which could only herald a more complete loss of interest later on.

The conference attracted a broader membership than that of 1927, drawing in "...representative employers and labour leaders, forewomen and promoters of co-operative societies, welfare workers and government officials, with social workers and those from academic institutions...",¹⁵⁷ an undetermined number, though probably again in the region of fifty to sixty. Among those attending were Cora Deng, May Bagwell and Eleanor Hinder of the YWCA, Philip Cheng of the YMCA, Tayler, and Gideon Chen of Yenching University, as well as a number of well-known writers on economic affairs including Chen Ta of Hsing Hua University, H.D. Fong of Nankai University, M.T. Tchou,

now of the Ministry of Industries, and J.D.H. Lamb (Lin Tung-hai) also of Yenching, among others.¹⁵⁸ Each day delegates assembled to hear papers and hold discussions around a particular theme, the six themes being the 'economic needs of the people', 'workers' education, small-scale industry and co-operation, large-scale industry, 'government policy and legislation' with reference to industrial standards and organised labour, and Christianity and the People's Livelihood.¹⁵⁹

Of the papers presented, several are of particular interest. In a paper entitled 'The People's Livelihood as Revealed by Family Budget Studies', H.D. Lamson attempted to co-relate the findings of a number of researchers with respect to the percentage of income spent on different items by families engaged in various occupations in different cities. Owing to the proliferation of statistical surveys over the previous five years such a project was now possible, and certain conclusions could be drawn from it though perhaps the most useful was the realisation that,

"There is a great lack of uniformity in the methods of gathering data and of classifying material, in the China studies quoted, and of drawing conclusions, so that in only a few studies can any one particular item of interest be followed for comparison. Standardisation of technique, terminology, and units of importance, are needed."¹⁶⁰

Reviewing the progress of the union movement in his paper 'Chinese Labor Since 1927', Chen Ta deplored the abuse of liberty by the unions which, as he saw it, had led to their suppression after 1927 by the Kuomintang, and called the more recent tendency of strikes to be concerned with bread and butter issues a 'hopeful sign', asserting that,

"The chief aim of the union should be the improvement of the economic and social conditions of the workers, not their participation in political activities."¹⁶¹

He urged that further study be undertaken of wages and conditions, accident prevention, and unemployment, and that the Kuomintang's recent industrial legislation be enforced, but expressed the view that at the root of China's problems was an oversupply of labour. Ultimately he felt this excess could be absorbed by widespread industrialisation, but in the meantime a comprehensive system of birth control would help to ease the pressure.¹⁶²

The Kuomintang's new Labour Union Law, Factory Law and Factory Inspection Law were the subject of a discussion by M.T. Tchou, the former Industrial Secretary of the YMCA, now working for the Government. Faced with the problem of regulating the 'multifarious, often irregular activities' of the labour unions, Tchou argued, the Kuomintang had begun in 1926 to expel Communist members and to re-organise the unions.¹⁶³ The new Labour Union Law was part of a gradual process of restoring freedom of association to labour.¹⁶⁴ The Factory Law provided for 'some of the most fundamental reforms advocated by social reformers', dealing as it did with hours and conditions of work, labour by women and children, apprenticeship, welfare safety and health, conditions for dismissal and other subjects.¹⁶⁵ Tchou regarded the provision for the institution of factory councils as 'of unusual significance'. The councils were to be composed of equal numbers representing employers and workers, and were intended to "...act as a clearing house for a good deal of the misunderstanding which has often resulted in the taking of extreme measures by one party or the other."¹⁶⁶ The Factory Inspection Law passed the responsibility for inspection to local authorities, though the training of inspectors was to be undertaken by the National government. Overall, Tchou foresaw a trend towards central administration and enforcement of labour laws, and emphasised the need for 'officials of a high grade of moral character' in the inspectorate.

"Men and women qualified to serve are not only to have the technical preparations that are indispensable, but must be devoted to their cause and be willing to sacrifice for it." 167

Perhaps not surprisingly for a conference which was semi-official in tone, there was little contribution from working people themselves. In two cases welfare workers reported on conversations they had had with working people, the most interesting being an interview reported by May Bagwell of the YWCA with two women, one 'a labour leader', and the other a woman with seven years' experience as an ordinary worker in cotton mills, and six years as a forewoman. The women's comments, relayed second-hand as they were, injected a note of reality into proceedings otherwise dominated by the views of 'experts'.

"Both women interviewed were decidedly conscious of belonging to the workers' group and of the opposed interests of workers and management.

Both women expressed the belief that it was the aim of the government to control the labor unions and that the local organs were used on the side of capital and against labor.

...they felt that the labor union law was aimed at doing away with the labor unions as the unions would have no power if the law were enforced." 168

Another woman worker, present at the conference and commenting on a report of industrial welfare work carried out by a YWCA woman at a factory in Wusih, "...was not at all in favour of the 'benevolent despotism' of the Wusih scheme, and felt that if the conditions of the workers were to be improved it had to be done by the workers themselves..." 169 The point was not picked up, however, and delegates appear to have remained largely indifferent to the views of working people.

There was some discussion of agricultural problems during the conference, and of co-operative experiments in credit and marketing for agriculture, but J.B. Tayler seems to have been alone in proposing that the co-operative principle should be applied to the development of small-scale industry, thereby providing farmers with an alternative source of income and in some measure bridging the gap between city and countryside. This manner of approach would be 'healthier', Tayler maintained, and would permit the application of modern science and modern methods of organisation to China's economic life while avoiding "...undue reliance on the urbanisation of industry...".¹⁷⁰ Essentially a small-scale industrial co-operative would require a federation of a number of small producers within a given area, provision for credit and expert guidance, and for the co-operative supply of raw materials and equipment, collective marketing arrangements, and collective provision of electric power.¹⁷¹ What Tayler was suggesting, as another put it, was implementation of 'Kropotkin's three principles' - "...decentralisation of industry, combination of agriculture with industry in industrial villages, and complete education in the form of combined brainwork and manual work...".¹⁷²

"The whole crux of the situation lies in this, that such a method of development necessitates educative work among the rank and file of industry. While this is its main difficulty, it is on the other hand its great advantage, because the education which is required to bring men to follow such a co-operative plan is an education that links economic activity with the fuller life of the community, and which has high social and cultural values. It breaks down the opposition which is now only too apparent between the cultural and economic life."¹⁷³

On the final day of the conference delegates assembled to approve the 'findings' put together by the organisers, a relatively cautious summation of the main points brought out during the week. Deploring the lack of education among workers, and their consequent lack of 'ambition to better themselves', the conference urged the

Committee on Christianising Economic Relations to promote the establishment of a 'Workers' Institute' in Shanghai, and the initiation of programmes in workers' education generally, to provide an education "...which develops the personality of the worker, trains him for citizenship in a modern state, and furnishes the vocational training and guidance that are now lacking...".¹⁷⁴ The conference worried about housing conditions and the 'unbalanced' diet of workers, about the 'acute moral problems created by overcrowded conditions', about the exploitation of workers by moneylenders, and their abuse by the agents of secret societies and labour contractors, and sought 'to draw public attention to' the excessive hours of work still prevalent, the evils of night work, unhealthy conditions, and the perils of apprenticeship, but recommended only that workers be assisted "...to make a better use of their leisure...", that friendly societies should be formed for mutual insurance and protection, and that the owners of smaller industries should be encouraged to better the conditions in their workshops.¹⁷⁵ Delegates noted 'with satisfaction the tendency to better working conditions in modern industry',¹⁷⁶ though on what grounds it is hard to see.

The conference recommended that further study be made of safety provision and accident compensation in factories and mines, and of the possibilities for profit-sharing and the possible constitution and duties of 'works councils' in industry.¹⁷⁷ Further study was also recommended to determine what action might be taken to promote birth control among workers.¹⁷⁸ The conference endorsed the application of the co-operative principle in the 'scientific development' of agriculture and small-scale industry, and called for further research into co-operatives, and the creation of a 'special institute for experiment and training in connection with the improvement of local industries'.¹⁷⁹ Delegates expressed approval of the Government's new Factory Law and Factory Inspection Law, and called for their early enforcement, while also encouraging the Government to pursue negotiations with the

foreign powers "...with a view to overcoming hindrances to the enforcement of the Law associated with the practice of the system of extra-territoriality...".¹⁸⁰ For the future, delegates recommended that the Committee on Christianising Economic Relations organise local and regional conferences to follow up the proceedings in Shanghai, that the Committee plan for a regular biennial national conference on economic matters, and generally take steps to "...lead the churches to a fuller understanding of Christian concern with economic relations...".¹⁸¹

The recommendations from the conference were considered at the Biennial Meeting of the National Christian Council in Hangchow in April 1931. While the Council recorded that it "...notes with interest and satisfaction..."¹⁸² the work of the February conference, it also made clear that it "...accepts responsibility only for those findings and recommendations of this Conference which came before it and were adopted at the biennial meeting...".¹⁸³ The Council approved the plans of its Committee on Christianising Economic Relations for the study and promotion of rural and other small-scale industries, the study and promotion of co-operatives, of industrial welfare, personnel management, training for labour for participation in control of matters affecting their welfare, and the Factory Law. Plans for workers' education were also approved. The Council proposed that the Committee emphasise in the immediate future the preparation of appropriate literature for the Churches, the organisation of local groups, and the undertaking of certain carefully chosen pieces of demonstration work both in the city and in the countryside. The Council suggested that the Committee seek the co-operation of the universities in its work.¹⁸⁴

If the Council's distillation of the findings of the February conference appears severe, the contrast with the findings of the 1927 conference is even more marked. Gone are the calls for a minimum wage, for freedom of association for workers, for the limitation of

large landholdings and other similarly progressive innovations; gone is the appeal for a society in which each would receive according to his need. With the Conference on the People's Livelihood it became apparent that a decisive shift in attitude towards economic problems had taken place within the National Christian Council, a shift which would prove irreversible.

In mid-1931, J.B. Tayler was to leave China for Europe, to pursue his study of the technique and organisation of small-scale industries on behalf of the CCER. In the months leading up to his departure he spent much of his time endeavouring to promote devolution of the burden for study and experiment in economic matters on to the universities, as the best method of ensuring some continuity in research. He had earlier expressed his conviction that

"The Committee will probably have to carry the responsibility for work in the fields it takes up during the experimental stage, but if, as hoped, these experiments are successful, they should give rise to permanent organisations." 185

Among the projects Tayler envisaged were the creation of an 'Institute of Rural Industry', associated with a university, which would have a textile expert, a mechanical engineer and an industrial chemist on its staff, the attachment to the universities of men trained in the promotion of co-operative experiments, at least one to have a special knowledge of agriculture, and another experienced in rural industry, and provision for an expert to teach industrial welfare, and another to teach personnel management, again in a university.¹⁸⁶ If these arrangements could be made, this would "...leave to the secretariat of the CCER the work of co-ordination, promotion and literature..."¹⁸⁷ In this way, the tasks of the Secretary could be kept within bounds, and the position would be less difficult to fill.

By the time Tayler left China in July, some progress had been made. Nankai University in Tientsin had agreed in principle to undertake studies of half a dozen rural industries over a period of three years, while Mr. Sam Dean of the North China School of Engineering Practice was to develop new implements and equipment suited to the needs of rural industry, and to train people in their use.¹⁸⁸ The proposed Institute of Rural Industry had not, however, materialised. Several new co-operatives were under consideration for Shantung,¹⁸⁹ though no one had yet been found with an expert knowledge of co-operative work in rural industry. Two universities, apparently Yenching and Shanghai, were actively considering joint action to provide training for students in industrial welfare and personnel management.¹⁹⁰ Much of this depended upon the discovery of external sources of funding, however, and the prospects for this at the time of Tayler's departure were not particularly favourable.¹⁹¹ Meanwhile a few more enterprising missionaries struggled with their own local experiments¹⁹² and in Shanghai Chen Ta of Hsing Hua University completed a study for the CCER on the applicability of the Factory Act.¹⁹³

Tayler spent the remainder of the summer in Europe gathering information about successful small-scale industrial enterprises, mainly it would seem in France and Switzerland.¹⁹⁴ Later he proceeded to London, where on September 21st he organised with H.T. Silcock and William Sewell of the United Committee for Christian Universities of China, a meeting to discuss Chinese rural and industrial problems.¹⁹⁵ To this were invited some two dozen missionaries, academics, social workers, and others who had had some personal contact with China. The consensus of those present was, as Tayler had expressed it, that the universities "...must do more in the way of research, in the study of actual situations, and in trying to find solutions,"¹⁹⁶ and Tayler, Silcock, Sewell and Agatha Harrison were asked to draw up plans for a permanent committee which could act as liaison between university and

other social workers in the field, and the public at home in Britain. These four subsequently proposed a committee to be responsible to the Standing Committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies, one of the functions of which would be to secure support, financial and otherwise, for projects undertaken abroad.¹⁹⁷ Unfortunately, it would appear that this committee was never constituted.

Toward the end of the year, Tayler returned to China, and early in the spring of 1932 started out on a trip to Shansi via Shantung and Hopei. Here he found that a certain amount had been achieved in isolated cases, but that on the whole the three provinces were 'ripe for work'.¹⁹⁸ Tayler's hopes that institutions other than the CCER would take on part of the burden of involvement with rural industry had not materialised during his absence in Europe. Mr. Sam Dean was "...hopeful of being freer in the future than he has been in the past...",¹⁹⁹ while staff at Nankai University were now talking not of six studies, but of two, funds permitting, with the possibility of others later.²⁰⁰ Despite this, Tayler still felt that Dean's School of Engineering Practice in Peking could constitute a centre for practical experiment, while Nankai would be the logical base from which to conduct research. In his report on his trip, Tayler further recommended that the CCER should establish a special sub-committee to lay plans for a practical programme to develop rural industries in Hopei, Shansi and Shantung.²⁰¹

In the event such a committee came into being a few months later with the formation of the 'North China Industrial Service Union', created with the purpose of "...co-ordinating and extending the work of industrial research and promotion that is already being done by a number of Universities and other agencies in North China."²⁰² At a meeting on September 17th 1932 representatives of the interested universities discussed their work and plans, and chose J.B. Tayler as Secretary of the group, who would "...pending fuller organisation, ... assume executive responsibilities...".²⁰³ Committees were set up on

'Mineral Industries', 'Textile and Other Industries', and 'Economic Research and Industrial Organisation'.²⁰⁴ While the Industrial Service Union was formed 'with the encouragement' of the National Christian Council,²⁰⁵ it does not appear to have been responsible to it, and about the time that he became Secretary of the Union, Tayler seems to have ceased to occupy his position as Secretary of the NCC's Committee on Christianising Economic Relations.²⁰⁶ The new post was undoubtedly an honorary one, and Tayler combined it with a return to his research work at Yenching, with which, indeed, he retained an affiliation throughout his years in China. With the Committee on Christianising Economic Relations once again without a co-ordinator, and the NCC apparently not in any hurry to find a replacement for Tayler, the Committee's work was allowed to lapse. A survey of its publications in 1934 shows that most of them dated from the 1920's.²⁰⁷ With the exception of the question of the Church and its rural environment,²⁰⁸ the NCC took little further interest in economic matters in China.

In the year following its founding the Industrial Service Union was able under Tayler's direction to stimulate new research into the weaving and knitting of wool, the production of cotton goods, and the smelting of iron, all for village use.²⁰⁹ While the objective of the Union remained "...to organise and federate local groups for their common interest in such matters as credit, supply and marketing, securing trade information and so on...",²¹⁰ the initial emphasis was placed on study and experiment. Probably typical is the following account of efforts to improve the woollen industry:

"The first thing was to devise simple, inexpensive equipment - capable of manufacture by the village carpenter or smithy. This was undertaken by the engineering staff of the North China School of Engineering Practice, who carried on their experiments in a workshop equipped like a village carpenter's and blacksmith's shop. They produced simple hand-cards, treadle-cards and carding machines much like those used in England a

century ago, and hand-mules based on the Welsh type; and it is found that, working on these in their homes, the villagers can earn more than a factory wage.

Next the Union began to concentrate on the study of wool supplies, the demand for woollen goods in North China and the organisation of the local production centres." ²¹¹

In the future, it was hoped to investigate the potential of village pottery, wood-working, leather-working, paper-making and the chemical trades, ²¹² though the Union would have to proceed as funds permitted.

The problem of finding money to finance research into rural industry and put the results into practice on any significant scale had hampered Tayler since he had first taken responsibility for the NCC's economic programme in 1930. Although the Committee on Christianising Economic Relations had been granted two final sums of \$4,000 and \$2,000 Gold by the Rockefeller Foundation for the years 1931/2 and 1932/3, ²¹³ and some of this may in due course have found its way to the Industrial Service Union, other demands on this money must have meant that not much of it was available for the development of rural industries. In 1930 Tayler had sounded out the possibilities for assistance, hopefully financial, from the new Department of Social and Industrial Research being established by the International Missionary Council in Geneva, but his enquiries met with little response. ²¹⁴ In 1931, he made a more direct approach for financial support to the Institute of Social and Religious Research in New York, but again apparently in vain. ²¹⁵ Tayler appealed the same year to Henry Hodgkin, now in England, to use his influence to find money for the project, ²¹⁶ and must have hoped as well that the meeting he organised at Edinburgh House in London in September with Sewell, Silcock and the others ²¹⁷ would eventually lead to some tangible support forthcoming from the UK. Tayler's decision to press for the creation of the North China Industrial Service Union in 1932 was probably in part motivated by a desire to involve the universities financially, as well as practically, in the promotion of rural industry.

The difficulty he encountered in finding money to translate his plans into reality may have influenced Tayler to apply to the University of Manchester early in 1933 for what he took to be a permanent position in Chinese Economics.²¹⁸ In the event, the post turned out to be for Chinese Language, and while en route for Europe Tayler apparently received a telegram with the dramatic news that the Rockefeller Foundation was likely to underwrite his work on rural industries, and to "...treat him generously...".²¹⁹ The Foundation did, in fact, subsequently support the work, though to what extent and for how long it is difficult to discern.²²⁰ In 1934 Tayler applied for another position, this time at the University College at Bangor in Wales.²²¹ The same year, however, he was appointed a member of the British Boxer Indemnity Commission, and while retaining his post at Yenching would spend the next several years travelling in the interior for the Commission advising on plans for aid to education.²²² In 1934 he evidently resigned his responsibilities as Secretary of the North China Industrial Service Union.²²³ No further mention is made of the Industrial Service Union after 1934, and it must be assumed that it too passed into oblivion like so many committees before it, though some interest in supplementary industries was kept alive in the universities. Tayler himself remained an enthusiastic supporter of the co-operative ideal for rural industry, and in 1936 initiated a study at Yenching of the economic position of one hundred rural families in Hopei as a means of promoting his cause.²²⁴

Somewhat ironically, the head of the International Missionary Council's Department of Social and Industrial Research, whom Tayler had approached for assistance in 1930, came to China for a tour in 1936. J. Merle Davis spent eight weeks in China, almost exclusively in major cities, and visited thirteen institutions of higher learning - five of them theological seminaries.²²⁵ His aim was,

"To secure the opinion of a few picked Church and Mission leaders, and faculty members of the Christian colleges, in regard to the chief problems of the Church in relation to its environment; to find what studies have been made, or are now in progress, in the field of these problems; to determine the questions of major concern among the problems suggested, and to decide upon those which would probably yield the most profitable results..." 226

In fact, the only study which Davis agreed to finance was one into 'The Chinese Rural Church in Relation to its Environment', to be undertaken by a member of Nanking Theological Seminary.²²⁷ Indeed, it was proposed to hold a World Christian Conference in Hangchow in 1938 on the theme of 'The Church and its Environment', and Davis was surprised to find that at Yenching some faculty "...challenged the validity or usefulness of centering the discussions of the Conference upon 'The Church'..."²²⁸ On the other hand, a 'few of the most thoughtful Chinese leaders' expressed concern that the Conference might "...deal with problems that have validity for the West but which would bear an atmosphere of unreality for Asiatic Christians..."²²⁹ This was apparently a criticism, not from a more radical perspective, but from a more conservative one!

"This feeling, that the economic and social problems of the Church are of secondary importance to the issues of war, political and national integrity, Communism, etc., was a very common obstacle that I met in talking with Christians wherever I went." 230

In 1937 Davis paid a return visit to China, and managed to secure the agreement of certain faculty members in the Sociology Department at Yenching to carry out a programme of field research on the rural environment of the Church.²³¹ At a separate interview J.B. Tayler once again pressed Davis to use his good offices to secure financial support for three or four experimental industrial co-operatives,²³² though with what effect cannot be told as within a month of the interview China had become engulfed in war with Japan.

The history of the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives is a subject in itself, and has been dealt with more fully elsewhere.²³³ It is necessary here to recall the broad outlines of the Indusco movement, and to place the movement in its proper context as the last major piece of 'industrial welfare' work undertaken in China before the revolution.

On the outbreak of war with Japan much of the East coast of China was, with certain exceptions, very rapidly occupied by the invading forces. There were two important consequences to this movement of troops: first, much of the modern industrial capacity which might have supplied China's war effort was soon either in enemy hands or if in the Treaty Ports was cut off from the areas under Chinese control in the interior;²³⁴ secondly, there was a significant flow of refugees inland, many of whom were peasants, but some of whom brought with them into the interior handicraft skills or a knowledge of modern industry. There was, therefore, both a need for finished goods and human resources available in the form of refugees desperate for employment of one kind or another. It was the genius of Rewi Alley and others that they were able to organise the resources to meet the need, and to guarantee credit, supplies, and markets within the framework of a co-operative system.

During the winter and spring of 1937/8 a small group held meetings in Shanghai to discuss what might be done to solve some of the urgent problems created by the war emergency. The idea for a network of industrial co-operatives seems to have originated with Rewi Alley, and with Edgar Snow and his wife Nym Wales.²³⁵ The proposal was taken up by prominent Chinese and by other foreigners, and later put to the Government, by this time in Hankow, apparently through the good offices of the British Ambassador, Sir Archibald Clark Kerr.²³⁶ The Government decided to act on the proposal,²³⁷ and in August 1938

the Chinese Industrial Co-operative Association was established as an official body responsible directly to the Executive Yuan, whose President was H.H. Kung.²³⁸ Initially the Government promised a capital fund of \$5 million Chinese for Indusco, and agreed also to pay its promotional expenses.²³⁹

Originally, the organisers of Indusco hoped to create some 10,000 industrial co-operatives in the first full operating year, May 1939 to May 1940, and a further 20,000 co-operatives in the next year to May 1941.²⁴⁰ These target figures were not reached, and by May 1940 there were in fact 1,810 co-operatives, though they contained "...24,000 members in sixteen provinces spread from Lanchow in the northwest to the outskirts of Canton in the southeast...".²⁴¹ This was almost certainly not for want of effort on the part of the organisers, many of whom worked extremely long hours under very difficult conditions to promote the spread of the movement, but rather was probably due to the scarcity of capital. A report on Indusco written early in the movement's history shows that with eight hundred co-operatives established, the rate of capital investment was such that \$15 million, and not \$5 million, would be required for the first 10,000 co-operatives.²⁴² While the proportion of local capital invested naturally increased as the co-ops became successful and members ploughed back their profits into the concerns,²⁴³ the restricted initial availability of capital must have been a constraint on growth. Many societies apparently sought loans from the banks to improve their position.²⁴⁴ Nonetheless, the performance of those societies which were in existence was impressive: the total value of production by all the co-ops was said by May 1940 to be \$7 million per month.²⁴⁵

A second sum of \$5 million was given to Indusco by the Government in 1940, but this was to be used to promote marketing and supply agencies which were being set up by existing federations of co-operatives.²⁴⁶ While new co-ops continued to be created, it would appear that expansion

proceeded at a slower pace after 1940, and Indusco became more dependent on financial assistance from overseas channelled through the International Committee for Indusco in Hong Kong, and later in New York. In 1943 the Chinese Industrial Co-operative Association became the Association for the Advancement of Chinese Industrial Co-operatives, and a certain amount of re-organisation took place. While this was done "...in order to make it clear to everyone that Indusco itself was only a promotional agency and that its job was the creation of a genuine co-operative movement of federated societies..."²⁴⁷ it may be seen as symptomatic of a gradual official disengagement from Indusco resulting from a growing fear on the part of some members of the Government that the movement might have revolutionary implications which had not been foreseen.

That Indusco was destined to do more than fill an immediate need for supplies and provide a livelihood for refugees is apparent from its structure, which was designed "...to ensure that the maximum amount of responsibility for production was borne by the maximum number of people..."²⁴⁸ from its commitment to an education much broader than offered to ordinary people hitherto, which would "...ensure that the utmost was made of the creative potential in the Chinese peasant and refugee worker..."²⁴⁹, and in the challenge it posed to the existing pattern of economic development in China in the twentieth century which had served to further widen the gap between city and countryside. As Rewi Alley was to remark,

"Seeing the failure of centralised coastal industry to bring anything but famine to the interior, and misery to industrial workers on the coast [it was intended] to start a movement that would carry on into post war years and assist in the necessary integration of the agricultural and the pastoral with the industrial." ²⁵⁰

The initiative in the formation of an industrial co-operative in a given area was usually taken by a trained Indusco organiser, who would

go into a district and try "...to bring together groups of workers who were prepared to follow Indusco's lead and manage their societies in accordance with the model rules, which embodied the rules necessary for co-operative administration..."²⁵¹ The co-operatives usually contained between seven and thirty members, the average being about fifteen, and the particular function of each depended upon the skills of the participants, and the organiser's assessment of local needs and the resources available to meet them.²⁵² The activities undertaken included small-scale mining and iron smelting, the production of machine tools and equipment for light industries, bamboo paper-making, tanning, soap and candle-making, dyeing, the making of leather goods, fur-dressing and fur garment-making, brick and tile-making, the manufacture of pottery and glass, flour-milling, rice-hulling, oil pressing and ginning, and in textiles weaving and the manufacture of garments and other items in both wool and cotton. More than half of the Indusco co-ops were concerned with the production of textiles in one form or another, and in north China especially much effort was put into fulfilling a series of orders for blankets for the army.²⁵³ There were also transport co-operatives, and 'labour' co-ops which contracted out their labour, in addition to the manufacturing co-ops just described.²⁵⁴

Each co-op chose a manager, either from among its own members or if no one suitable was available, a candidate put forward by the organiser. The manager oversaw the technical functions of the co-op from day to day, and was usually a member of the Board of Directors, whose responsibility was to ensure that business was conducted 'efficiently and co-operatively', and "...subject to the general principles and policies laid down by the General Meeting..."²⁵⁵ The Chairman of the Board of Directors represented the co-operative in its dealings with outsiders. There was additionally a Supervisory Committee, whose job it was to make sure that the accounts were properly audited, and which generally kept watch over the work of the Board of Directors.

Each of these bodies was elected by, and responsible to, the General Meeting of all the co-operative members, which had supreme authority. The General Meeting was convened when necessary to approve the admission of new members, occasionally to expel members, to fix salaries and wages to be paid, and at the end of the year to divide up the profits.²⁵⁶

This last function was of considerable importance to the co-operative life of the society. Every member held at least some shares in his society, and when the annual interest on these had been deducted, along with an allowance for depreciation on equipment, the remainder of the year's surplus was divided according to a scale fixed by Indusco headquarters. Of the net profit, 20% went to the co-op's 'Reserve Fund', 10% to the 'Common Good' fund to provide for educational and welfare facilities, 10% to Directors and hired staff who did not share in the bonus on wages, 10% to the local Industrial Co-operative Development Fund or to the local federation, and the remaining 50% to members and non-member workers as a bonus on wages.²⁵⁷ Of this last amount, two-fifths was to be taken in shares by members, or paid by non-members to the Industrial Co-operative Development Fund. Throughout the year workers received wages similar to or slightly higher than those prevailing in local industries, and the principle of equal pay for equal work was observed between members and non-members.²⁵⁸ Each co-op was permitted to hire a limited number of 'non-member' workers to assist with production, usually on a temporary basis.²⁵⁹

As individual units, the co-operatives remained vulnerable, both materially and psychologically, As J.B. Tayler was to remark,

"The greatest single step in the developing of the co-operatives is to unite them locally in federations. If this is done successfully it makes them realise that they belong to something bigger than their own society."²⁶⁰

The federations were formed either by industry or by locality, and as they grew both in scope and in confidence it was intended that they take over from Indusco organisers most promotional work, the arranging of credit, inspection, audit, experiment and training, and from their member co-operatives the negotiation of supplies and markets.²⁶¹ By the end of 1943, however, it would appear that most technical assistance was still provided by staff from Indusco headquarters.²⁶² It was further hoped that provincial, regional and national federations might develop, but these seem not to have materialised because of the increasing 'difficulties, delays and expense of travel' in China in the last years of the war.²⁶³

Central to the educational effort associated with the Indusco movement was the network of 'Bailie schools' established wherever there were co-operatives. These schools, which had their origin in the experimental work of Joseph Bailie at his Institute of Technical Training in the early 'thirties, took promising apprentices, members of co-operative families, and other young men and gave them two years of technical and scientific training with a view to making them technicians and foremen, and local leaders in the co-operative movement.²⁶⁴ The programme combined practical work and academic study with group activity, and was "...meant to open the boys' mind to understand the bases and trends of modern industrial development and at the same time to accustom them, through team activities and by sharing in responsibility for the conduct of the kitchen and general ordering and discipline of school life, to the co-operative way of doing things...".²⁶⁵ The Bailie schools, promoted particularly by Rewi Alley, continued to operate for some time after the war.

While the Bailie schools were preparing a new generation of co-operators, existing co-operative members had also to be catered for. Where necessary, vocational training was given when a co-operative was first set up to enable men and women to learn the arts of spinning and

weaving and other processes of manufacture, often using new techniques brought in from outside.²⁶⁶ Evening classes were often arranged over a period of two or three weeks for several neighbouring co-operatives if it was felt necessary to elaborate on aspects of co-operative practice, or to explain scientific principles underlying part of the members' work.²⁶⁷ Special evening classes were sometimes provided to enable members to pursue a technical subject more systematically. For all of this training, as well as for the instruction of committee men and ministering to the needs of groups like juvenile workers and women, the Indusco organisers, and later to some extent the federations, were responsible.

It was essential, therefore, that the organisers themselves be well-trained. In the early days experience in the field was the main teacher for Indusco officials, but by the end of 1940 a programme of courses had been developed which was of three months' duration and was offered at each of Indusco's regional headquarters.²⁶⁸ Candidates usually had a middle school education. After completing the programme, and working in the field for a time, organisers were often brought together again for a two or three week refresher course.²⁶⁹ In the autumn of 1940 the universities, beginning with the University of Nanking at Chengtu,²⁷⁰ began to offer higher training courses for Indusco organisers, apparently of half a year, or a year's duration.²⁷¹ It had been thought that it might be possible to organise a full-fledged 'CIC Institute' as a focal point for research into technical innovation for small-scale industry, and for organisational training, but this hope was apparently not realised, probably for lack of funds.²⁷² At a lower level, every depot of Indusco reinforced the educational work of local organisers by offering classes to prospective accountants, directors, supervisors and managers.²⁷³ Weekly conferences and discussions were held at many depots, and some may have experimented with correspondence courses.²⁷⁴

Indusco was not without its problems. The difficulty encountered in finding capital funds for the co-operatives has been noted. Particularly

as inflation came to have a firm grip on the Chinese economy after 1940, expansion of the Indusco network was quite significantly curbed, and emphasis was placed on the formation of federations of existing co-ops, and on the development of ancillary services.²⁷⁵ Attempts by some Indusco staff to start non-co-operative businesses as a means of financing promotional expenses of the co-ops "...entirely failed in their purpose...".²⁷⁶

Again, there was a tendency to neglect the educational features of the movement, upon which experience had shown its success ultimately depended. Workers might go through the motions of co-operative management of their enterprise while in fact showing little initiative because they had not yet come to think of it as theirs. Managers who had gained their training in small private industries often continued to show evidence of the 'laopan psychology', and treated their workers as inferiors. As a co-operative's production usually met an urgent local need, there was sometimes a conspiracy of silence about its less tangible deficiencies. In the long run, however, progressive education and involvement of the co-op members paid off, and it was found that "...the truly co-operative is also the stablest and least vulnerable...".²⁷⁷

Furthermore, it is apparent that there were both 'mistaken tendencies' within Indusco among some of its staff, and opposition to the movement from individuals outside it who disliked the direction in which it was going.²⁷⁸ It may be supposed that as with any movement of significant dimensions there were some who sought to use it to enhance their personal power and prestige. Also, apart from fulfilling its immediate function of meeting wartime needs, the Indusco movement constituted a new and relatively independent force in the economic life of China whose post-war impact was impossible to predict, and it is not improbable that it should arouse the suspicion and even the hostility of industrialists and others whose interests were vested in the existing economic and social order. This suspicion carried over to the Government,

whose commitment to Indusco wavered and almost ceased in the later years of the war.²⁷⁹ The official change of heart towards Indusco has not been adequately documented, but much may be intimated from J.B. Tayler's observation, made in 1945, that "...work was much easier and more successful in those provinces in which the authorities were favourably disposed...".²⁸⁰

Writing during the war of the possibilities and limitations of the industrial co-operatives, Tayler concluded that their continued success depended on three things:

"...first, technical development so that small-scale processes can be improved sufficiently to compete in the interior with the products of large-scale industries...: second, federation, which will give them the advantages of large-scale purchase and of large-scale marketing facilities; third, sound finance." ²⁸¹

He further warned that,

"While the co-operative movement is non-political and when started right can carry on by itself without government aid, it does need satisfactory enabling legislation and freedom to operate. Any compulsory system or attempt to bring it under state regimentation will mean its death as a movement, although its shell may continue as an expensive government bureaucracy." ²⁸²

Rewi Alley, writing in 1943, expressed the view that post-war success was assured if,

- a. the movement side is permitted
- b. co-operative loans are available
- c. technical advance is made, and co-operative training is carried on
- d. machinery for the village co-op is made available from abroad for copying and for use." ²⁸³

In particular, Alley felt that there was room for expansion in the development of small-scale mining,²⁸⁴ and for the extension of Indusco into areas it had not yet penetrated, such as Kansu and Sinkiang, the region

around the Burma road, and, after the war, Manchuria.²⁸⁵ Co-operative work might also be initiated among the tribal and other minority people of China. Alley also urged that industrial co-operatives be established and supported behind Japanese lines in territory controlled by Communist guerillas, in order to "...assist them to maintain themselves, and to turn the flow of essential raw material away from the Japanese."²⁸⁶

Summing up his experience of Indusco and other co-operative ventures, J.B. Tayler wrote toward the end of the war that co-operatives were "...more ethical and therefore more Christian than capitalistic enterprises...".²⁸⁷ This was so because they

"...eliminate the practice of a few profiting from the many...

...organise collective economic action but retain the principle that the individual is the chief ethical end...

...inspire individual initiative but direct it into serving the larger group...

...require education of members in the very nature of the case because of their democratic principle of operation...

Contrast this with the trend of modern industry towards autocracy, an enlightened autocracy perhaps, but emphatically not a manifestation of control from below."²⁸⁸

If the co-operatives were in accord with Christian principles Tayler pointed out that Christians had in fact done little to help their spread, and "...in China as well as in Europe and America many non-Christians have devotedly helped build up the co-operative movement while Christians were more concerned over denominational differences and the other world..."²⁸⁹

Yet Indusco must be seen in the context of the whole Christian industrial welfare effort of the previous two decades, in which it could also be said few Christians took part. It was an emanation of this effort

in that it was originally conceived and nurtured by individuals who had gained their experience trying to cope with the enormous social consequences of the coming of modern capitalist industry to China - Rewi Alley in the SMC Industrial Section, Tayler in the NCC Industrial Commission, Cora Deng and Eleanor Hinder and others in the YWCA - and also because it built on the accumulated experience of two decades, was in a definite sense a culmination of the effort put forth, and represented a groping towards a solution which more nearly approximated what was needed in China, and indeed what would become the policy of the People's Republic after the Liberation. Though industrial co-operatives were not of course communes, in scope or in structure, they were closer to them in spirit than they were to the squalid factories of the Treaty Ports with which industrial welfare work had begun in China in the early 1920's. The Indusco experiment had opened the way to a new mode of industrial production, and therefore of modernisation for China, according to which the distinctions between city and countryside, between master and servant, might gradually disappear. Whether such a transition could continue to be achieved gradually, or peacefully, is a separate question which cannot be discussed here. ²⁹⁰

CHAPTER 5

The International Labour Organisation and Industrial Welfare in China

From the inception of the International Labour Organisation at the Washington Conference in 1919, it had been recognised that in the case of certain countries where "...climatic conditions, the imperfect development of industrial organisations, or other special circumstances make the industrial conditions substantially different..."¹ it would be necessary to modify the expectation that specific objectives could be quickly realised in terms of uniform standards of labour legislation and ratification and application of Draft Conventions of the ILO. In practice, this meant that for many years the Organisation was 'Euro-centric' in its approach to labour issues, and substantially neglected to promote better standards for labour in countries which were farther away, and about which its officials knew little. In this chapter, it will be argued that this neglect is particularly evident in its relations with China between the two World Wars, where the efforts of the ILO to promote the welfare of working people were ill-conceived and mal-administered to the point of their being almost completely inconsequential.

In China, the obstacles in the way of enforcement of modern industrial legislation were considered principally to be the vastness of the country, the absence of tariff autonomy, the existence of foreign settlements with extra-territorial privileges, and the absence of any previous experience of factory inspection.² Thus, although China was from the beginning nominally a member of the ILO, there was little pressure in the early years on the Peking Government to induce it to comply with some of the standards being worked out at Geneva. In the event, most modern factories in China were in territory outside either the jurisdiction or the effective control of that Government, and the ILO seemed satisfied for the time being with official statements of intent,

made more formal with the enactment of the Provisional Factory Regulations in 1923.³ It is suggested by Augusta Wagner, one of the few contemporary observers of the evolving ILO attitude towards China, that it was apprehension in Europe over possible competition from goods made with cheap labour, and anxiety over the rapid growth of radical trade union activity in China, coupled with the initiation of the child labour enquiry, and the occurrence of the May Thirtieth incident, which finally prompted the Organisation to take a more active interest in the welfare of the Chinese industrial workers.⁴

The first ILO official to have made a professional visit to China seems to have been M. Pierre Henry, who landed there in September 1924 apparently with a broad mandate to explore industrial conditions, and in particular to see what progress had been made by the campaign to restrict the use of child labour. Henry was in China for approximately three months, spending part of his time in Shanghai, and the remainder visiting Tsingtao, Chefoo, Tientsin, Peking, Nanking, Chungking, Canton, and Hong Kong.⁵ In each centre Henry spent a few days meeting local employers, officials, academics and other dignitaries, and making a tour of inspection of representative local factories, both modern and traditional.⁶ Henry seems to have had assistance in planning and executing his itinerary both from the YM and YWCA, and he notes that it was

"...par l'intermédiaire de ces deux grandes associations que j'ai pu pénétrer à la fois dans les milieux gouvernementaux des provinces, et dans les milieux patrons comme dans les milieux ouvriers..."⁷

In Peking, Henry had several interviews with officials in the Government, and especially records his gratitude to the Minister of Commerce for arranging for him to visit a variety of local institutions.⁸ At Yenching University he heard Hu Shih speak on the attitude of China's youth towards the foreign missions, a speech which seems to have

begun in him a process of reflection on the foreign presence in China.⁹ Chinese sentiment on this subject was brought home to him more forcibly in Canton, where he met Liu Tchong-hoi, chief of the Labour Department of the Canton Government.

"Quand je lui demandai son avis sur l'O.I.T., il me répondit très franchement qu'il nous considérait comme une organisation à la solde des puissances impérialistes, et que notre influence ne pourrait être que néfaste en Chine."¹⁰

Throughout his stay in China, Henry seems to have had significant contact with the workers themselves on only one occasion, when he was invited, along with other 'leaders ouvriers', to address a gathering of workers at the Nanyang Tobacco Factory, convened to celebrate the second anniversary of the founding of the workers' club there. The mood of the meeting was one of impatience, and Henry found himself in a difficult position as the emissary of an agency purporting to represent workers' interests.

"Certaines déclarations furent très violentes. C'est pourquoi, à la fin de la réunion, je me crus obligé de mettre au point les quelques idées qu'ils pouvaient avoir sur le Bureau, en leur faisant bien comprendre que si nous étions prêts à leur donner tout appui par la voie de renseignements sur ce qu'étaient les conditions du travail dans d'autres pays, nous ne pouvions pas directement appuyer un mouvement révolutionnaire."¹¹

Henry submitted in his report a partial list of unions in Shanghai and Canton about which he had been given information, but noted that as a whole the labour movement in China "...reste très mystérieux...".¹²

The main substance of Henry's report was concerned with his findings with regard to conditions of labour in the various factories he visited, reference to which has been made elsewhere.¹³ It is appropriate here, however, to give an account of some of his more general observations on Chinese industry, particularly for the insights they

offer into the frame of mind in which he approached his task. Henry found it took 'four Chinese to do the work of one white',¹⁴ in the cotton and silk mills, confirming the claims made to him by the employers in this respect. In the light of this, he noted that even though wages were low, the disproportion of salaries paid in relation to work done between for example, even China and England, was not so great, and that between them the four Chinese workers would almost earn the nine shillings a week which would be paid to a single worker in England for similar work, this in the silk industry.¹⁵ When Henry then asked British and Japanese owners of silk filatures why they bothered to operate factories in China, he reportedly was told that there were three reasons: that foreign factories, either in the concession areas or on Chinese territory, paid little or no tax; that the cost of transport of raw materials and finished goods could be saved on products intended for the Chinese market, which was most of them; and that Chinese were content with coarser products, of a type which were no longer manufactured in Europe or the United States.¹⁶ In Henry's view, Chinese industry would be incapable in the foreseeable future of producing for export.

Not unexpectedly, Henry reported that there was no effective legislation governing conditions of labour, but found that in general conditions were better in modern factories and that salaries were uniformly higher in foreign-owned enterprises. In this, Henry echoed the belief universally shared among foreigners in China, but never documented in any comprehensive way. He went on to remark, however, that

"... les ouvriers les plus joyeux qu'il m'avait été donné de reconstruire étaient ceux des usines les plus misérables d'aspect intérieur et extérieur. Il me semble que dans un atelier propre, bien éclairé, même si c'est un de ses compatriotes qui le dirige, l'ouvrier chinois se trouve en dehors de son élément. Je m'excuse de la brutalité de cette supposition, mais je ne crois pas devoir la passer sous silence."¹⁷

This preference for the older style of workshop Henry attributed to the fact that a less rigorous discipline was usually in force, and that relations with the employer were often more cordial. In a modern factory Henry reasoned, whether or not the old traditions of paternalism had been retained, an employer was obliged to exact more return because of the financial sacrifice he had made; in this connection it was necessary to educate workers, though their attitude could be expected to change only slowly.¹⁸

There is perhaps no better indication of where Henry's sympathies lay than a passage of his report in which he attempts to convey his impression of the mentality of Chinese workers; this passage is so astonishing that it would seem appropriate to reproduce it in full here.

"Enfin, un Asiatique n'est en général pas accessible aux sentiments de reconnaissance. Ceci vient en partie de l'influence de Confucius... Un ouvrier chinois de Pékin ne pourra donc accueillir qu'avec méfiance toute tentative faite par son employeur ou par toute autre personne pour améliorer son sort, s'ils n'appartient pas à sa famille ou ne sont pas originaires de sa province natale. Ceci est vrai 'a fortiori' en ce qui concerne les étrangers. Cet ouvrier verra à un marché qui lui est offert, même si l'on n'exige rien en retour, et tâchera d'en tirer le maximum d'avantages possible, sans aucune considération pour les sentiments qui ont inspiré l'acte de générosité, ou en parfaite ignorance de ceux-ci. Un patron - qu'il soit chinois ou européen - qui commettrait la faiblesse de donner un secours à un de ses ouvriers momentanément dans la gêne, non seulement l'aurait à sa charge, lui et sa famille, toute sa vie durant, mais encore serait obligé de fermer son usine devant les réclamations des autres ouvriers demandant un traitement analogue."¹⁹

Henry then went on to ask rhetorically if there was any 'duty of humanity' towards the Chinese workers, whether their hopes and expectations ought to be raised when there was so little chance of their being fulfilled, and admitted having left China without any definite idea on the subject.²⁰

If on the other hand Chinese labour were ever to become by its cheapness a threat to Western labour, then in Henry's view there should be no further hesitation over the decision to intervene.²¹ His report therefore, while recommending the gradual introduction of certain improvements in Chinese industry, such as the elimination of women and children from night work, reduction of hours, an increase in wages, and better safety precautions, held out little hope that any of these could be achieved without an end to the existing political turmoil in China.²¹

The defeat of the legislation to control child labour in Shanghai perhaps brought some qualm of conscience to Henry, for in the latter part of 1925 and throughout 1926 he made repeated efforts to have the ILO send him back to China, suggesting that he might be of help in pushing the movement to protect child labour forward.²² In this connection, he even wrote to Sherwood Eddy in the United States asking for his help in finding US\$2,500, presumably from the Rockefeller Foundation, to enable him to go.²³ Reformers in Shanghai tried to discourage him, however, pointing out that in the light of the prevailing strength of national sentiment a second visit would be inopportune, and it would seem that by December 1926 the ILO had definitely decided not to allow Henry to return to China.²⁴

In 1927 the ILO official William Caldwell passed through the Far East on his way to Australia and New Zealand, and in July attended the second conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations in Honolulu, where he hoped among other things to learn something of the progress of organised labour in China. Caldwell recorded, however, that "...there seemed to be practically no one present who was really familiar with the Chinese workers' movement or their actual working conditions..."²⁵ and his schedule did not permit him to undertake an investigation in China himself. In late 1928 the Director of the ILO, Albert Thomas, embarked on a tour of the principal countries in the

Far East during which he twice visited China, in November/December and in early January 1929, spending a total of just over three weeks there.²⁶ The scope for investigation in such a short time was necessarily limited, and Thomas' itinerary took him only to Shanghai, Nanking and Peking, but it is clear that his perception of what he saw was more acute than that of Henry.

Thomas noted with disapproval the juxtaposition of extreme wealth and extreme poverty in Shanghai, and also was disturbed by the almost complete disappearance of the independent labour movement brought about by the Kuomintang under the pretext of the need to extirpate Communists,²⁷ taking it upon himself to warn Government officials that a harmony between labour and capital achieved at the expense of the proscription of the labour movement was no harmony at all.²⁸ Nonetheless Thomas was not without his contradictions, and his aloofness must have been trying to those who sought to make his brief stay in China as complete an experience as possible.

"J'apprends avec quelque surprise que l'on a voulu me réunir confusement non seulement les experts, mais aussi les ouvriers et les patrons... C'est devenu une sorte de réunion publique au lieu de la réunion de travail que j'attendais."²⁹

On no other occasion was a Director of the ILO to tread on Chinese soil.

In 1931 the ILO sponsored a mission to China which looked for once as if it might bear some fruit. This was the mission of M. Camille Pône and Dame Adelaide Anderson. As early as 1929 Dame Adelaide had been approached by M.T. Tchou, formerly of the YMCA but now an official of the Ministry of Industries in Nanking, to see if she would be willing to come to China to act in an advisory capacity during the establishment of a factory inspectorate.³⁰ It will be recalled that in

1929 the Kuomintang first made public its proposed new set of factory laws.³¹ In the interim the ILO had established its branch office in China,³² and the Organisation was invited by H.H. Kung in February 1931 to send a mission to advise on factory inspection of which Dame Adelaide would form a part.³³ Dame Adelaide and M. Pone appear to have arrived in China in the autumn of 1931, and to have stayed for several months.³⁴

The Factory Inspection Act, which was to have become effective on October 1st 1931, provided that each Province and Municipality should establish with its own resources a factory inspectorate, and that while there would be initially no central inspectorate, the Nanking Government would be responsible for the training and appointment of inspectors. By the time the ILO mission arrived in China a plan had already been drawn up for a course of study of three months' duration for potential inspectors, to be given by officials who had had some training abroad.³⁵ It was agreed that Pone and Anderson should investigate industrial conditions at first hand before recommending what other steps should be taken to implement inspection, and should in particular concern themselves with Shanghai, where the dispute over jurisdiction with respect to proposed factory inspection between the Chinese authorities of the Municipality of Greater Shanghai and the foreign Municipal Council of the International Settlement was approaching an impasse.

Further study of the Factory Law and Factory Inspection Law convinced the two experts that the legislation attempted to solve at a stroke problems which had not been overcome elsewhere except by a slow process of evolution. The experience of visiting factories, in Dame Adelaide's case for a second time, confirmed the mission's impression that it would only be possible to proceed

"...a une application progressive, par degres, des³⁶ differentes categories de dispositions de la loi..."

They therefore recommended that Chinese factory inspectors should begin by taking measures to induce limited compliance with the law, specifically suggesting that they get in touch with managers in their districts to give them employee registers and acquaint them with the law, that they endeavour to promote health and safety in the factories, that they investigate all industrial accidents, and see that children were removed from dangerous work.³⁷ Later, they could begin to enforce the provisions for a weekly day of rest, breaks from work, and holidays, and start collecting information which would be of use when the other sections of the Factory Act came to be implemented.³⁸ Notably, the exclusion of children from the factories was not considered a practical proposition for the time being.³⁹

With respect to jurisdiction over factory inspection in Shanghai, Pöne and Anderson were quick to realise the need for a uniform application of the law in all parts of the city, and expressed the hope that this could ultimately be achieved by means of a single service of inspection and machinery of enforcement.⁴⁰ In the meanwhile, however, they were able shortly before leaving China to effect a compromise between the Chinese and foreign authorities, according to which Chinese-trained inspectors under the control of the central government at Nanking would operate in the International Settlement and the French Concession, reporting regularly both to the authorities of the foreign concessions and to the Chinese Government, but referring any cases for legal enforcement in the foreign concessions to the authorities of those concessions.⁴¹ It was hoped that the threat of legal sanctions would be enough to induce compliance with the law before any referral was necessary. In Chinese territory, the law would be enforced in the normal way.

Unfortunately the agreement over Shanghai broke down not long after the ILO mission had left China, and the shadow of this failure was thrown across the path of the application of all factory law. When

the ILO enquired in 1933 as to when some of the provisions of the Factory Act might be implemented, the Minister of Industries, K.P. Chen, blamed the obstinacy of the foreigners at Shanghai for the lack of progress.

"Selon lui, s'il n'y avait pas cette controverse avec les autorités des concessions les choses seraient beaucoup plus avancées." ⁴²

Nor is it possible, taking the longer view, to agree with Augusta Wagner that the Pone/Anderson mission made a positive contribution to the progress of factory inspection in China simply by insisting on the principle of gradual enforcement; indeed, the 'Programme for the Enforcement of Factory Inspection', introduced by the Government in 1934 to provide for application of the Factory Act in five stages, which Wagner offers as evidence of the influence of the ILO mission ⁴³ is conceded even by her not to have brought even implementation of the earliest stages of enforcement by the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937. ⁴⁴

For some time, the possibility had existed that an ILO office might be established in China in order to facilitate the passage of information about labour conditions and standards in both directions between China and Geneva. Such an office had been opened in Japan in 1923, and the prospects for a similar branch in China were undoubtedly discussed by Pierre Henry during his visit there in 1924. The issue seems again to have been brought up in 1926, although those most informed about industrial conditions in China felt that at that time the creation of a voluntary organisation, similar to the Association for Labour Legislation in Britain, would be an initiative more suited to China's needs, particularly in the light of the probable hostility of the labour movement towards the ILO. ⁴⁵ In the event, after further consideration and a resolution of the immediate political uncertainty,

a 'China bureau' of the ILO was inaugurated in the summer of 1930 under the direction of the French-educated former diplomat, C.S. Chan.⁴⁶ The bureau had its headquarters at Nanking and a branch office in Shanghai.⁴⁷

Chan saw the functions of the China bureau as the gathering of information, the maintenance of ongoing relations with organisations and individuals, and the dissemination of information about the ILO and about labour standards, or what he termed 'propaganda' work.⁴⁸ On the first score, the promotion of 'intelligence gathering', Chan claimed in a review at the end of his period of tenure in 1934 to have had a certain, albeit limited, success. In the beginning major obstacles had stood in the way of this work, in particular the scarcity of government statistics, and the reluctance of the press to discuss labour questions because of "...le cauchemar des menaces communistes...",⁴⁹ but in time the proliferation of enquiries, both official and private, into such questions as conditions, wages, and the cost of living, had rendered the task easier, and monthly reports had been submitted to Geneva, conforming to a prescribed pattern, from the summer of 1933.⁵⁰ A press cutting service was also initiated by the China bureau, to record anything of value in the Chinese press. From time to time it would seem that the bureau attempted to collate the results of research undertaken by other agencies, and 'special reports' would then be presented to Geneva, each on a certain theme.⁵¹ It had always been the hope of the Organisation's hierarchy in Geneva, however, that a China bureau would itself be able ultimately to co-ordinate the main efforts at scientific research into labour conditions in China, and on this Chan had to admit little progress had been made.

"La question mérite d'être examinée. Mais pour y trouver une solution satisfaisante, il faudrait des éléments de travail et des conditions de succès que je n'ai pas à discuter ici." ⁵²

In fact the initiative had never been taken, and was even less likely to be by Chan's successor.

With regard to relations with other institutions and individuals, it was clearly here that Chan felt the greatest gains had been made. If his report is to be believed, excellent relations had by 1934 been established with Government departments, which regularly sought the advice of the China bureau - the Labour Department of the Ministry of Industries even on one occasion having urged the bureau to intercede on its behalf with superior organs of government - , with employers, whom it had helped to organise an institute for scientific management and with whom it had collaborated on a study of the applicability of the Factory Act, with workers, who had 'warmly welcomed' its intervention, with students, private welfare agencies, diplomats, journalists, and others.⁵³ Among all these groups, Chan claimed, the China bureau had made firm friends, while the number of people who regarded the ILO as an agent of Western imperialism had significantly decreased.

With this success, it was maintained that the job of disseminating information became easier. As of October 1931, the China bureau published a monthly bulletin in Chinese - 'International Labour Information', from 1934 'International Labour', - which contained news, articles and translations of ILO and other documents, and which came to have a circulation chiefly, it would seem, among government agencies and academic institutions.⁵⁴ The production of this bulletin was claimed to take up much of the time of Chan and his staff, but was felt to be the surest method of making the objects of the Organisation better known. It was supplemented from time to time by other published items in Chinese, such as 'The ILO and its Relations with China', a propaganda brochure produced in 1930 and revised in 1934, and a compendium of the Conventions and Recommendations of the ILO to date, also released in 1934. Further items were to appear later. Chan also regarded public lectures as an important propaganda technique, especially in the universities, where the intellectual youth could be won to the cause of labour reform.⁵⁵

Not surprisingly, Chan's review of his period in office does not consider at any length those factors which rendered the work of the China bureau less effective. That the bureau in gathering information relied so heavily on government surveys and even more casual sources rather than on first-hand investigation meant that the reports it sent back to Geneva were often patently inaccurate, incomplete, and internally inconsistent. These deficiencies were not lost on officials at Geneva, who sometimes seemed to despair of getting any reliable information from their branch in China.⁵⁶ Furthermore, it would appear that this lack of statistical evidence was not in any large measure compensated for by experience gained from direct contact with the labour movement, for such contact was of necessity limited, and became if anything more so. Chan noted that it was necessary to be 'prudent' and 'circumspect' in the conduct of relations with the unions, and conceded that the existing state of the labour movement in China left much to be desired.⁵⁷ Nor was there apparently any impetus from Geneva on this score, with no less a person than the Director, Albert Thomas, having dismissed in 1930 Chan's suggestion that he act as intermediary for correspondence between European and Chinese labour unions as "...une conception... assez singuliere...".⁵⁸

It must finally be recorded that Chan apparently suffered from indifferent health, and became ill during the course of a routine visit to Geneva, with the result that he was away from his post in China for the first ten months of 1932.⁵⁹ His place was taken temporarily by Jennings Wong as Acting Director of the China bureau, a post he held concurrently for the first half of that period with that of Commissioner of Finance for Nanking Municipality, causing at least one observer to complain that the bureau lacked effective leadership.⁶⁰ Chan's health seems not to have improved materially upon his return to China, and although he stayed at his post for almost another two years, he was obliged to resign for health reasons in late 1934, evidently arriving again in due course in Geneva where he worked for the ILO in a less responsible capacity.

In the middle and late 'thirties, several more special 'missions' to China by officials based in Geneva were either undertaken or proposed. In 1934 a M. Francois Maurette, an Assistant Director of the ILO, spent three weeks in China in March during a mission to China and Japan to advise on primary and professional education. Although the mission was not, strictly speaking, on behalf of the ILO, it was planned that Maurette should take the opportunity to meet people concerned with labour questions. To his disappointment, he found that no progress had been made on the issue of factory inspection since the visit of M. Pone three years earlier, and expressed himself in agreement with earlier visitors in calling for gradual progress.

"...plus que jamais on doit envisager à l'égard de ce pays l'étude de problèmes restreintes et exécutable à bref délai et, quand c'est nécessaire des solutions provisoires..."⁶¹

Maurette was also mandated to explore discreetly the operation of the China bureau, and Chan's resignation later in 1934 may not have been unconnected with his visit.

Another visitor to the Far East from Geneva was Mack Eastman, who apparently spent a period from April to June 1936 in China and Japan. Unfortunately it is not possible to determine what was Eastman's itinerary, though it would seem that his principal objective in going to China was to promote the implementation of factory inspection.⁶² In 1937, preparations had reached an advanced stage for a visit to China by the Director of the ILO, Alfred Butler. It was proposed that Butler should spend three weeks in China visiting factories and meeting government officials, employers, and workers' groups, and in particular making an attempt to break the deadlock over factory inspection in the International Settlement.⁶³ The outbreak of hostilities with Japan in the summer intervened, however, and the trip did not take place.⁶⁴ There were to be no further special missions to China before the

outbreak of general war in Europe, when operations were so disrupted that the ILO itself was obliged to move its headquarters from Geneva to Montreal for the duration.

When it became obvious in 1934 that it would be necessary to find a new Director for its China bureau, the ILO hierarchy in Geneva began to cast around for possible candidates. In due course, the man chosen for the job was H. F. Cheng.

While there is no indication of this in records of general correspondence with the China bureau, it is clear from material in confidential files at Geneva that Cheng was, in fact, a nominee of the Nationalist Government.⁶⁵ He had previously been for some time chief of the Factory Inspection Section of the Labour Department of the Ministry of Industries.⁶⁶ Shortly after his inauguration, Cheng wrote to his superiors in Geneva that he saw his most important task as increasing the prestige and influence of the ILO in China, and that in order to do this it would be necessary to

"...establish close relations with Government authorities and leaders of industrial, social and intellectual organisations and ... to adopt all the possible and effective means of propaganda such as broadcasting, delivery of speeches, issuing of news and holding of memorial meetings..."⁶⁷

The building up of the China bureau as a research centre on labour problems, Cheng felt, was not a task for the immediate future.⁶⁸

Upon his appointment in the autumn of 1934 Cheng embarked upon a round of interviews with national and local government officials in Nanking and Shanghai, with employers and their organisations and with representatives of such trade unions as could be found.⁶⁸ Cheng notes that the employers in Shanghai, both Chinese and foreign, were particularly co-operative.

"They are very friendly to me, and promised to render any service whenever I deem to demand from them [sic]." ⁶⁹

The employers expressed support for a "...policy of tri-partite co-operation in the improvement of [the] workers' situation...". ⁷⁰

Of some fifty interviews, Cheng claims to have arranged at this time, only four were with people even ostensibly representative of workers' interests. These were with officials of the Shanghai General Federation of Trade Unions, the Preparatory Bureau of Chinese National Seamen's Union, the National Postal Employees' Federation, and the National Postal Workers' Federation. ⁷¹

Between 1934 and the outbreak of war with Japan in 1937, Cheng left Shanghai on several occasions to 'investigate' conditions in other industrial centres. In October/November 1935 he spent three weeks in Hankow and Changsha, and in December ten days in Chinkiang and Wusih. ⁷² In June/July 1936 he visited the Hui Nan Coal Mine and the city of Anking in Anhwei for a similar period, and in November of that year made a four-day trip to Nantung in Kiangsu. ⁷³ Subsequently, Cheng does not appear to have ventured beyond Shanghai and Nanking, and after the beginning of hostilities in 1937 not outside Shanghai. An appeal he made to Geneva in 1939 for funds to enable him to go to Chungking seems to have been turned down. ⁷⁴

On the occasion of each of these trips, Cheng sent back to Geneva a report of his findings. As he seems principally to have been concerned in each case to 'establish relations' with employers and government officials, his reports inevitably tended to reflect their point of view. Where statistics were included, they were usually taken from surveys compiled by the Ministry of Industries, or by the local government in the area being inspected. ⁷⁵ As these surveys no longer exhibited the most obvious inconsistencies and other deficiencies of their earlier counterparts, this information seems to have been welcomed

by officials in Geneva as a more accurate indication of the true state of affairs in Chinese industry than had been the reports submitted by C.S. Chan. This was unfortunate, as although the reports were now consistent, they were also probably consistently erroneous.⁷⁶

Sometimes Cheng would make observations on his own initiative, for example, that the level of wages seemed gradually to be dropping while the hours worked were tending to increase.⁷⁷ More typical, however, would be the comment

"Working conditions in Wusih factories are very good. Most of the large factories undertake to provide welfare for their workers."⁷⁸

On one occasion Cheng records having been told by a factory inspector in Wuchang that conditions in factories there were 'not satisfactory', while in both Anking and Changsha he met inspectors who were obliged to attend to 'other duties', and had either very little time or no time at all to give to factory inspection.⁷⁹ In Changsha, Cheng reasoned, this did not pose a significant problem, for

"...as most of the factories are operated by the Government, which usually provides with a [sic] better working conditions, the inspection in private undertakings which are not only less in number but also employ only a few hundred workers, is thus comparatively simple."⁸⁰

There is scant reference in Cheng's reports to organised labour, and little suggestion that he made any effort at all to get in touch with it, however difficult that may have been. In his report on Hankow, Cheng noted that the Dockers' Union there had suffered from "...communist penetration and many other troubles..."⁸¹ and had not functioned 'normally' until 1933. He noted that Chiang Kai-shek had forbidden the collection of union dues in Hankow, and also in Honan, Hupeh, Anhwei, Kiangsi, and Fukien under the pretext of the emergency created by the campaign against the communists, and casually observed that in Anhwei

most unions elected the 'well-to-do' workers as their officers in order to reduce expenses to a minimum.⁸² He remitted to Geneva a statement by the Wusih Chamber of Commerce attributing workers' opposition to redundancy to ignorance⁸³ and another by the municipal government of Hankow maintaining that the recent decrease in industrial militancy was owing to workers' 'contentment' with their lot in difficult economic times.⁸⁴ It is hard to escape the conclusion that Cheng agrees with an official of that government when he observed

"The labour movement in Hankow is now on the right track. On the contrary, one can also say that there is no labour movement here. As trade unions are not permitted to collect membership fees they are thus put into an inactive state..."⁸⁵

If Cheng had ever given any indication that there might be explanations of what he saw other than those advanced by the employers and officials whom he met, if he had penned any qualifying remarks or criticisms of their reports either in the margin or in a separate covering letter, it might be possible to believe that he was forwarding them to Geneva simply to enable officials there to form a more complete picture of conditions and attitudes prevailing in China. That he did not do this must simply confirm the suspicions of acute political bias which his background and the manner of his being chosen for the job invite. It is the more remarkable, therefore, that Cheng should on more than one occasion complain that he had been mistaken for a representative of the Nanking Government.

"When I was in Hankow, twenty-four unemployed workers of the Wuchang First Textile Factory came to petition me to order the factory to resume its operation. I immediately explained to them the nature of this Office and the objects of our Organisation. They again entreated me to explain their miserable situation to the Central Government authorities..."⁸⁶

"This again shows that travelling gives a chance to get into personal contact with the workers and to propagate the ideals and results of the Organisation." ⁸⁷

At the end of 1936, K.S. Chen, who had been in charge of the subsidiary Nanking branch of the China bureau, died, and early in 1937 that branch was wound up, leaving only the office at Shanghai.⁸⁸ There Cheng remained during the first eighteen months of the war with Japan. In 1938 he wrote enigmatically to Geneva that the Chinese labour movement would "...undergo a radical change after the war...there are many things I like to tell you [sic]. But I think it would be wise for me to keep silent for a while...".⁸⁹ In 1939, as has been noted, Cheng asked to be transferred to Chungking, but nothing seems to have come of this. His last letter to Geneva was sent in March of that year, after which it must be assumed that the ILO's branch in China ceased to function altogether.⁹⁰

Throughout the two decades under consideration, Chinese representation at the ILO headquarters in Geneva was intermittent and for much of the time ill-qualified. From 1919 until 1929 the only Chinese delegates to the ILO were diplomats sent from the legation in Berne to be present during the annual International Labour Conference in Geneva. In 1929, and subsequently, except for 1932, when the Japanese emergency was said to prevent it, nominally 'complete' delegations representing the interests of the Government, employers and workers attended the Conference, as required by the regulations of the Organisation. Thomas Tchou, formerly of the YMCA, led the first of these three-part delegations in 1929, and again represented China alone in 1932.

In the event, however, the supposedly 'balanced' nature of these delegations was belied by the delegates' unvarying unanimity of view on questions before them. Augusta Wagner was led to remark,

"The information on Chinese conditions on which the so-called workers' and employers' representatives as well as the government representatives favored the conferences

ran along parallel lines. It consisted on the one hand of a catalogue of the achievements of the Government in enacting labor legislation and on the other hand of charges that the evil industrial conditions and the non-enforcement of labor legislation were due to the iniquities of foreign factory owners, extraterritorial privileges and unequal treaties." 91

There was evidently some disapproval in Geneva of the Chinese practice of having the Kuomintang choose the worker delegates to the Conference, but the practice continued for as long as China was represented.⁹² It is apparent that even some of the worker delegates themselves may have become restless under the close scrutiny of the Kuomintang by the late nineteen-thirties.⁹³

It is suggested that the ILO has always been prone to measure its success according to the ratification and application of the terms of its conventions by its member countries. By this standard, what was the extent of the influence it came to have over China?

When the ILO was created at the Washington Conference in 1919 it was proposed that China should be required to adhere initially only to the principle of factory legislation, and should report at subsequent Conferences on how it would go about putting the principle into practice.⁹⁴ It was suggested that China might begin by applying a ten hour day (eight in the case of children under fifteen), six day week to workers in all factories employing over one hundred. The Peking Government procrastinated, but after some pressure eventually produced in 1923 its Provisional Factory Regulations. As has been noted elsewhere, these were never enforced.⁹⁵ They were followed in 1929 by the industrial legislation of the Nanking Government, implementation of which was supposed to have commenced in 1931, but most provisions of which were also never enforced.⁹⁶ In view of the span of time under consideration

measures of protection for Chinese sailors and others working abroad at no cost to the Chinese government. These were:

- ILO No. 19, Equality of Treatment (Accident Compensation)
- 22, Seamen's Articles of Agreement
- 23, Repatriation of Seamen.

Convention 19 provided for equality of treatment with respect to accident compensation only in countries where legislation on compensation already existed; it would be of no benefit, for example, to foreigners working in China, where it did not.

There were finally:

- ILO No. 45, Underground Work (Women)
- 11, Right of Association (Agriculture)
- 14, Weekly Rest (Industry)
- 26, Minimum Wage Fixing Machinery.

Of these, there was little point to No. 45, as almost no women were employed underground in China; No. 11 providing right of association only in agriculture was flagrantly violated (both in agriculture and in industry) from the day it was ratified; it was repeatedly stated that No. 14 - establishing a weekly day of rest - was not a practical possibility in the foreseeable future despite its having been ratified; and No. 26, providing for machinery to fix minimum wages for casual labour, including outworkers, had proved virtually impossible to enforce even where there was long experience of labour legislation.⁹⁸ There would appear, therefore, to be ample justification for Wagner's conclusion that by and large the Chinese Government sought to ratify those Conventions which would cause it the least trouble, and that it did this only as a sop to world opinion.⁹⁹

What, then, was the overall impact of the ILO on China between the two World Wars? Lowe Chuan-hua's judgment, delivered in the China Critic in 1930, might be applied with equal validity a decade later

at the end of the period of ILO involvement in China. Lowe found that the policies of the Organisation were determined by the strong capitalist powers, and were of no benefit to workers in weaker countries, that the Organisation sought primarily to offset the influence of the Third International, that it had taken no stand on extra-territorial privilege in China, and that it had failed to secure even minimum standards of protection for Chinese workers.¹⁰⁰ To this categorisation of failure must be added that the ILO in Geneva was more or less consistently misinformed by its Chinese office about the true nature of conditions in China, and that the full documentary enquiry into labour conditions there called for at the International Labour Conference in 1925 had been hardly begun when it was cancelled because of the war in 1938, this despite the fact that similar reports had been completed for India, Japan and Indo-China.¹⁰¹ It is indeed ironic that when Cora Deng of the YWCA's industrial section came to Geneva to 'study' at the ILO in 1939, she probably knew more about the state of labour in China than anyone in the Organisation, past or present. Characteristically, there is no evidence that the Organisation sought to put her knowledge to good use.

CHAPTER 6

The Industrial Section of the Shanghai Municipal Council

As early as 1925, it will be recalled, the suggestion had been made by an official of the YWCA that the Shanghai Municipal Council might be persuaded to engage as a permanent member of staff an industrial welfare worker whose task would be to monitor conditions with respect to the health and safety of workers in factories in the International Settlement.¹ The YWCA had even considered that the person chosen might come from its own ranks. In the event, when the demonstrations in the wake of the May Thirtieth incident finally eliminated the possibility for successful passage of the legislation to restrict the use of child labour in the Settlement in June 1925, the prospect that any such appointment would be made receded, and the issue was not raised again for some years.

The promulgation of its factory legislation by the Kuomintang Government between 1929 and 1931, however, renewed interest in the question of industrial standards in the Settlement, and it came to be the mission of the ILO representatives Camille Pone and Dame Adelaide Anderson in 1931 to try to effect a compromise between the Government and the Municipal Council on the application of the legislation in territory under the Council's control.² Although, as will be noted below, the wrangle over jurisdiction would continue long after the departure of Pone and Anderson, their recommendations led to the Council's decision in 1932 to appoint an officer with special responsibility for factory inspection and enforcement of the Nanking factory legislation in the Settlement. After a delay occasioned by the Sino-Japanese conflict in Shanghai, the Council's 'Industrial Section' was formally brought into being at the end of 1932 with a staff of four;³ Eleanor Hinder, late of the YWCA's Industrial Department was made its first head, while the

New Zealander Rewi Alley, who had served for five years with the Council's Fire Department, became Chief Factory Inspector.

The activity of the Industrial Section and its successor Industrial and Social Division, represents the fruition of the Christian initiative in industrial welfare in China, and describes both the possibilities and the limitations of the paternal, gradualist approach to social change. Certainly the scope of the experiment was significant, for a Council survey in 1935 revealed that there were some 3,421 factories and workshops in the Settlement employing 170,704 workers, a sizeable proportion of China's industrial workforce as a whole.⁴ In the ten years from 1932 to 1942 the Section sought to minister to the needs of these workers, concentrating in the initial period up to the outbreak of war in 1937 on the implementation of measures to bring about improved conditions for health and safety in the factories, branching out during the first three years of the war emergency to encompass in its work a concern for refugees, the housing problem, the provision of technical training, and the gathering of statistics, and consolidating this effort through the formation in October of 1940 of the 'Industrial and Social Division', with separate sections for the promotion of health and safety, technical training, mediation in industrial disputes, the collection of statistics, welfare, and the protection of children. If a considerable work of amelioration was accomplished, what was conspicuously absent was any sense that working people themselves might have a role to play in the improvement of their lot. Indeed, as has been argued elsewhere, this was the central failing of much industrial welfare work.

In the years after 1919, the whole framework of extra-territoriality undergirding the existence of concession areas, settlements, and other foreign privileges in China came increasingly under attack, from workers who bore the brunt of foreign exploitation reinforced by troops and police,

from Chinese merchants threatened by foreign competition, and from intellectuals who had come to feel that a more complete national independence would have to be realised before any government would be in a position to make and implement policy on other matters of pressing concern. Just how this growing national sentiment would affect industrial welfare work was made clear for the first time when a large body of influential Chinese opinion, and even some Chinese among the reform lobby, turned against the Municipal Council's proposed legislation to limit the use of child labour in 1925, because it represented an attempt by the foreign Council to extend its jurisdiction.⁵ Neither would the Council yield any authority on the matter of labour legislation to the Chinese, asserting upon promulgation of Nanking's Factory Act in 1929 its right to jurisdiction in the International Settlement, subject only to the limitations imposed by the 'Land Regulations' agreed upon by the foreign powers and China in 1845, and to the ultimate sanction of the consular body in Shanghai and of the Ministers of the powers. The position with respect to jurisdiction was complex, and although the intricacies of the question have been rehearsed elsewhere⁶ it is nonetheless appropriate here to recall the main features of the dilemma.

Shanghai was divided jurisdictionally into three during the period under review, the constituent parts being the essentially Anglo-American International Settlement, the French Concession, and the Chinese administered areas known as Chapei, Nantao, and Woosung, which were brought together as the Municipality of Greater Shanghai under the direct supervision of Nanking in 1927. The International Settlement was governed by a Municipal Council whose legitimacy was held to be derived from the Land Regulations of 1845. The Council ruled through promulgation and enforcement of bye-laws enacted from time to time as the need arose. Amendment of the Land Regulations could only be achieved through diplomatic negotiation between China and the powers involved, though by this time any extension of the Council's influence by this

means was out of the question. Enactment or amendment of bye-laws required a two-thirds majority of those present and voting at a special meeting of Ratepayers of the Settlement, and the approval of the consular and diplomatic bodies of the powers concerned.

Foreigners enjoying extra-territorial privileges in China, whether they lived inside or outside the Settlement, were exempt from the jurisdiction of the Chinese courts, and were subject instead to special consular courts which applied to them the law of their country of origin. Despite the contention of Chinese authorities that extra-territoriality was 'of the person', and should not afford protection from Chinese law to enterprises owned by foreigners, in practice it did afford such protection. It was also the case, however, that the labour legislation obtaining in an employer's country of origin was not generally applied to the factory he operated in China, so that foreign manufacturing enterprises benefited from the law while suffering none of its constraints. Two actions brought against American companies for failing to comply with the terms of the Workmen's Compensation Act of the District of Columbia, and heard in the United States Court for China in 1936, led to inconclusive results.⁷

Chinese citizens residing in the International Settlement were subject to the jurisdiction of the 'Mixed Court' between 1911 and 1927, and subsequently that of the 'Provisional Court', and after 1930 the 'First Special District Court'. While the earlier arrangements provided for foreign 'assessors' to sit with Chinese judges, after 1930 the jurisdiction was exclusively Chinese. The Court tried cases brought before it by the Shanghai Municipal Police arising out of infringements of all duly enacted laws of the Chinese government, and infractions of Municipal bye-laws, committed both by Chinese and those categories of foreigners not enjoying extra-territorial status. However, the Court was not in a position to apply regulations promulgated by the various

Ministries of the Chinese government. Into this class fell the provisions of the Factory Act and related legislation of 1929/31. Furthermore, the 'competent authorities' charged with the task of enforcing this legislation throughout China were the various municipal and hsien governments. However, the Shanghai City Government, its police and other organs of enforcement, had no power to bring offenders within the Settlement before the First Special District Court, while the Court, for its part, refused to try cases under the labour laws brought to it by the Shanghai Municipal Police or any other organ of the Municipal Council. Thus a stalemate existed.⁸

The view had frequently been expressed by the Peking, and later the Nanking Government at the International Labour Conferences in Geneva and on other occasions that Chinese labour laws should be applicable in the foreign concessions and settlements as elsewhere in China, and that they should be enforced by agents of the Chinese government.⁹ In the 'twenties, however, the foreign powers had consistently rejected this demand, as its satisfaction, they claimed, would compromise the administrative integrity of the various concessions and would represent a partial abrogation of the treaty privileges conferred on the foreigners through the system of extra-territoriality. The British position was clearly set out in the White Paper of 1924, 'Labour Conditions in China', in which any interference with the extra-territorial rights of British factory owners was declared inadmissible, while it was suggested that in concessions under British jurisdiction regulations might be applied to British factories by means of bye-laws, though some mechanism to allow for control of Chinese factories in the concessions, and foreign factories outside them, would be necessary. A guarantee of the enforcement of labour legislation by the Chinese authorities elsewhere in China was held to be essential, so that British factories would not suffer from competition from factories operating under fewer constraints.¹⁰

The creation of the Chinese municipality in Shanghai in 1927, and the passage of the Nanking Government's Factory Act finally in 1931 lent a greater urgency to the need to reconcile somehow the conflicting positions on this question of China and the foreign powers. Three attempts were subsequently made to resolve the problem. As has been noted above, Dame Adelaide Anderson and M. Camille Pone of the ILO in 1931 negotiated a compromise which would have provided for Chinese-trained factory inspectors reporting both to the Chinese government and to the authorities of the International Settlement and French Concession to apply regulations to factories in the two concessions the same in all respects as those applied outside.¹¹ Enforcement was to be the task of the appropriate courts in the concessions. Although the agreement had been reached as a result of talks conducted at a very high level,¹² it broke down shortly after the departure of the ILO mission for Europe.

The second series of negotiations began in May 1933, after the Council's Industrial Section had been created with Eleanor Hinder at its head. During the course of these discussions between the Secretary General of the Municipality of Greater Shanghai and his counterpart on the Municipal Council, the Chinese side put forward a proposal for a joint factory inspectorate for all of Shanghai, which would be responsible both to the authorities of the Settlement and to the Chinese Municipality. The Shanghai Municipal Council found this proposal unacceptable, and rejected the suggestion that it should share its authority in the Settlement. It advanced in return a plan for separate inspectorates applying similar legislation, which was equally unacceptable to the Chinese. The negotiations broke down in October.

Immediately prior to these discussions in March and April of 1933, a considerable agitation had broken out in the Chinese community over the Council's efforts to introduce an amendment to its bye-laws which would permit licensing, and therefore control, of industrial premises. The Council argued that such premises had not been dealt with at the last revision of the bye-laws in 1898 because at that time

there had been almost no modern industry in Shanghai; in 1933, however, it was logical that factories should be added to the list of premises requiring licensing and inspection before they could operate. Eleanor Hinder, who recognised that co-operation between the Chinese and Settlement authorities would be essential to the success of any programme of enforcement for factory legislation, apparently spent her first two months in office trying to dissuade the Council from taking unilateral action, but without success.¹³ In the event, a special meeting of Ratepayers was convened, which in this case managed to achieve a quorum, to approve the amendment to licensing regulations, and the bye-law as amended was formally adopted by the Council on April 19th. Ratification was soon forthcoming from the appropriate consular and diplomatic bodies.

In fact, this was a pyrrhic victory. Enforcement of the bye-law would have been of necessity through the First Special District Court in the case of Chinese factory owners, and the co-operation of that agency was unlikely to be forthcoming. For the next several years the right to license factory premises was not invoked, and the Industrial Section would rely on persuasion rather than the threat of legal sanction to bring about those changes which it was able to achieve.¹⁴

No further progress was made on the question of jurisdiction for the next three years, Hinder noting in 1935 that the local representative of the ILO, Chen Hai-fong, who had expressed an interest in the problem, had insufficient weight to bring the Council and the Municipality together again.¹⁵ In 1936, however, a final attempt was made to reconcile their differences, this time in the wake of the Nanking Government's decision to apply the provisions of its factory legislation in stages.¹⁶ On this occasion the Council and the Chinese authorities actually reached an accord on the manner of implementation of factory inspection. The Council was to apply, under authority delegated to it by the Chinese government, those portions of the Factory Act and related legislation which were applied in territory under Chinese jurisdiction. The Council's

inspectors were to be chosen in equal numbers by the Council and by the Chinese government, and were to report to the Council, which would in turn report from time to time to the Chinese authorities. Cases of infringement of the regulations were to be referred to 'the Courts'. The agreement was to run initially for three years.¹⁷

The proposal was then sent to the consular body in Shanghai for approval. In July it was returned rejected. The consuls' judgment was that the agreement seemed to allow for the application of Chinese law to factories owned by foreign nationals enjoying extra-territorial privileges, and therefore was inadmissible. The consular body recommended again that the Chinese could apply the terms of the Factory Act to their own factories, while the Municipal Council could apply its own similar legislation to other factories.¹⁸ It would appear that there was no longer any way out of this impasse - and with the coming of the war the following year no further effort was made to solve the problem.

As head of the Council's Industrial Section, Eleanor Hinder was in close touch with the state of negotiation over jurisdiction, and it took little time for her to decide that whatever could be achieved in the Settlement in the way of amelioration of industrial conditions would be accomplished through persuasion rather than the threat of legal sanctions.

"Almost, I think, I shall regret the time when we are able to move with mandatory powers. Chinese people are essentially reasonable, and if one can get one's views understood there is just as much likelihood of obtaining compliance by persuasion as by any exercise of legal power."¹⁹

Hinder's view, therefore, was that compromise and gradualness were central to the success of any programme for reform; in this she parted company with some of her former colleagues at the YWCA.

The urgency of the need to reform conditions of health and safety in industry was brought home to her when in February 1933, scarcely a month after Hinder had returned to Shanghai to occupy her new post, an explosion occurred in a rubber shoe factory in the Settlement which killed eighty-one people. Even by the standards of Shanghai this was a disaster of some magnitude; the explosion had apparently been caused by ignition of the petrol mixture given off during the process of vulcanising the rubber shoes in large vats, and had resulted in the walls of the factory being blown outwards and the roof collapsing, trapping three hundred women on the upper floor in a mass of burning debris.²⁰ An investigation subsequently initiated by Hinder revealed that there was imminent danger of a similar catastrophe occurring in any one of the twenty-seven rubber factories in the Settlement.²¹

Although the controversy over the licensing question in the spring and summer of 1933 determined that the Industrial Section proceed with caution in attempting to bring about safer conditions of work, steps were taken nonetheless in 1933 to begin the collection of data on industrial accidents. In the first year, only those accidents coming to the attention of the police, fire and ambulance service were incorporated in the Section's findings, but in 1934 and subsequently hospitals in the Settlement, and factory managers were urged to provide the Section with details of industrial accidents, and a more complete, though still by no means comprehensive picture was thereby made available.²² As has been observed elsewhere, this information on the frequency of different kinds of accidents revealed no consistent pattern, but did enable the Section's staff to determine in what circumstances a misadventure was more likely to occur, and to begin a campaign of education and persuasion to make the occurrence less likely. In this endeavour, the Section came to enjoy the co-operation of certain insurance companies whose management increasingly sought to impose safety requirements on factories whose owners insured with them.²³

One increasingly common cause of death and injury was the faulty construction or operation of boilers and other pressure vessels, many of the more recent of which had been manufactured in China with little knowledge of the standard of materials necessary for their safe operation. Not infrequently factory managers would render the safety valves of pressure vessels inoperative in order that the manufacturing process could be carried on with what they regarded as greater efficiency. In 1934, therefore, the Industrial Section induced the Municipal Council to outline the requirements for safe practice in the use of boilers and pressure vessels, and enumeration of boilers in the Settlement was carried out, and testing for safety begun, with a view to implementing in due course a regular annual inspection.²⁴ In many cases testing was conducted by foreign engineers who had a special expertise in the inspection of boilers recognised in their country of origin; there was as yet an insufficient number of Chinese engineers who were qualified in this respect.

In March 1936, the Commissioner of Public Works, with the advice and support of the Industrial Section, recommended to the Council that it adopt 'Rules Governing Vessels and Systems Under Pressure', and these regulations were in fact enforced from October 1st. These provided for the licensing of all pressure vessels, both new and existing, after it had been determined that design, manufacture and installation had been carried out under qualified supervision.²⁵ In 1937 the Industrial Section offered its first experimental course for boiler attendants, drawn from the tobacco, dyeing and weaving, printing, rubber, metal, hosiery, hat, and chemical industries, giving instruction in the safe operation of boilers,²⁶ while the same year a judgment was rendered by the First Special District Court under the 'Law Governing Penalties for Police Offences' resulting in a fine for the owner of a rubber shoe factory who was found to have endangered public safety by obstructing the flow of steam through the safety valve of a boiler in his plant.²⁷

Hazardous processes, and the handling of dangerous substances were also an early cause for concern on the part of the Industrial Section. In particular, the careless handling of materials in celluloid plants and gas mantle factories had not uncommonly resulted in serious fires, as had the use of acetylene generators in welding shops.²⁸ The Section's inspectors, finding in the premises they visited practices which put employees at risk, would encourage the owners to attend a meeting at the Section's headquarters where the problem would be discussed and solutions put forward. It is claimed that it was possible to achieve much progress by this method, and to defuse the owners' resistance to change.²⁹ Similarly, owners of chrome plating and metal polishing works were encouraged to install exhaust systems in their shops, to remove poisonous fumes from the vicinity of workers.³⁰ In 1936 and 1937 the Industrial Section in conjunction with the Henry Lester Institute in Shanghai published studies of lead poisoning in the printing industry, the effects of the handling of lead and antimony in a variety of other processes, and of acid poisoning in the chrome and metal plating industry.³¹ These studies were intended to point the way to reform.

A systematic survey of factories and workshops in the Settlement was initiated by the Commissioner of Public Works in 1934, completed in June 1935, which revealed, inter alia, information about poisonous effluents into drains and creeks. Little seems to have been done about this aspect of pollution, though the three officials responsible for the survey were transferred to the staff of the Industrial Section.³² Another matter of concern was the standard of electrical apparatus and wiring in use in Settlement factories, which was suspected to be the cause of an undetermined number of fires. In spite of frequent comment on electrical hazards by inspectors on their rounds, little progress was reported in this sphere by the end of 1937.³³

More hopeful was the situation with respect to guards on machinery. By the close of 1935 it was reported that a significant rapport had been established with the owners of textile plants and other factories making extensive use of power machinery, and that many such plants were experimenting with machine guards under the direction of the Industrial Section.³⁴ Key to a more general acceptance of guards was a recognition that they could, if necessary, be manufactured and fitted easily and cheaply, and the Section's initiatives went some way toward convincing owners of this. Accidents on power presses were also very common, and the Section purchased its own press to demonstrate the function of an automatic guard in preventing injuries on this piece of machinery.³⁵ Attempts were made to persuade workers to wear clothing more suitable to the factory environment than the traditional Chinese loose pyjamas, but apparently to no avail, probably because of the cost that would have been involved in replacing them.³⁶

Among the other projects undertaken by the Section in this early period was the study promoted jointly by the Section and the Lester Institute in 1937 into the diet of workers, as a result of which it was found that the use of un-dehusked rice in factory lunches could, without any additional cost, virtually eliminate beri-beri and other nutrition deficiency diseases.³⁷ A further experiment on these lines would be carried out in 1940. The Council's Public Health Department, in collaboration with the Section, in 1937 devised a cheap latrine which could be installed in the most proprietary workshop, while it also carried out a campaign against bed-bugs which played a large part in causing industrial fatigue, and began that year to insist on the white-washing and cleaning of industrial premises at China New Year.³⁸ One area in which the Industrial Section met with little success was in its attempt to convince workshop proprietors occupying converted dwellings to move to more suitable premises; it encouraged one private experiment in 1934, however, which saw the construction of thirty-one

workshops with columns and beams of reinforced concrete, concrete stairs leading directly outside, modern toilets, and steel windows.³⁹

In 1933 the Municipal Council appointed a Commission to enquire into the state of the rickshaw business in Shanghai, and Eleanor Hinder was invited to join the Commission as a member. Apparently at Hinder's instigation, the Commission decided to carry out a limited survey of income and expenditure among the pullers, the first such study among a specific group of workers in the Settlement, and Hinder's former colleague at the YWCA, Dju Yu-bao, was engaged as one of the investigators.⁴⁰ Despite the fact that the Rickshaw Commission's report resulted in control of the tariff for which the puller hired the vehicle from its owner, and in creation of a Pullers' Mutual Aid Association to provide educational, hospital and other welfare facilities for pullers, the number of pullers was so large that it was Hinder's conclusion in 1941 that the authorities had not succeeded in "...ameliorating the puller's lot to any material extent...".⁴¹

Among other matters, the Industrial Section in 1936 began to monitor the fluctuation in economic conditions more closely, and conducted jointly with the Institute of Pacific Relations a study of the standard of living among municipal and utility workers in Shanghai.⁴² The same year it expressed for the first time an interest in effecting regulation of dormitory accommodation for women workers, and terms of apprenticeship for young boys, though little practical action was yet taken in either case.⁴³

Thus the principal concern of the Section in the four years or so of its operation before the Japanese war was the health and safety of workers. In promoting better conditions in the factories, extensive use was made of techniques which would demonstrate the need for reform, such as the mounting of exhibits in photographic, poster and model form.⁴⁴ From time to time leaflets were distributed to owners and working people outlining the provisions of the Chinese Factory Act

with respect to health and safety, and the rights of apprentices, among other matters.⁴⁵ An active collaboration was pursued with the Bureau of Social Affairs of the Municipality of Greater Shanghai, and with officials of the National Factory Inspection Bureau of the Ministry of Industries in Nanking, and after a time Eleanor Hinder reported that the monthly magazine of the Factory Safety Association, promoted by the Bureau of Social Affairs, drew frequently on information supplied by the Council's Industrial Section.⁴⁶ The Industrial Section was invited to contribute to the 'National Safety First Exhibition' organised by the Kuomintang Government in Nanking in January 1936, and participated in similar exhibitions in Wusih, Hankow, and Shanghai in 1937.⁴⁷

In the second phase of its activity, which effectively began with the outbreak of war between China and Japan in July 1937, the Industrial Section expanded its area of responsibility to embrace a concern for many aspects of the welfare of the urban population, artificially swollen by the new emergency, in addition to its established pre-occupation with industrial health and safety. In October 1940 the Industrial Section became the 'Industrial and Social Division of Council'. In December 1941 the Japanese occupied the International Settlement. By and large, the longstanding foreign involvement with industrial welfare work in the International Settlement came to an end with the repatriation of foreign civilian refugees from Shanghai in August 1942.

Of particular interest are the Industrial Section's initiatives in the gathering of statistics, the provision of mediation in industrial disputes, and in the protection of children.

Upon the collapse of the Nationalist resistance to the Japanese in Shanghai at the end of 1937, many officials of the Chinese municipal government fled inland to Hankow and Chungking, and the Bureau of Social Affairs of that government effectively ceased to function. This

posed the prospect of the discontinuation of the flow of information about wages and the cost of living for working people in Shanghai which had been regularly amassed and published by the Bureau since 1930. Whatever had been the shortcomings of this data,⁴⁸ it was felt to be undesirable that at a time of acute inflation and fluctuation in the level of employment because of the war, the Industrial Section should be deprived of any statistical indication of the people's livelihood. Accordingly T.Y. Tsha, who had directed the study for the Chinese municipal government, was engaged jointly by the Industrial Section and by the Chinese Statistical Society to carry on his work.⁴⁹ As a result, information as to the cost of living based on an index showing the increase in price of fifty-eight commodities, and data on the earnings of workers calculated from wages paid and hours worked in a wide variety of occupations, was available until after the Japanese occupation in 1941, though it must be noted that the survey of wages excluded those paid by foreign factories in the Settlement.⁵⁰ A brief discussion of the overall trend of earnings and the cost of living is given elsewhere.⁵¹ It was claimed by the Industrial Section in 1940 that some firms had come to rely on the cost of living index and on the weekly commodity retail price reports in adjusting wages and providing special inflation bonuses for their workers.⁵²

It is reported that in 1938, following the withdrawal of the Bureau of Social Affairs, workers began to apply to the Industrial Section for its mediation in their disputes with their employers. A mediation service had previously been available through the Bureau. In 1938 seven disputes were referred, principally by workers in the tobacco and printing industries, of which in two cases the Section was able to effect a compromise sufficiently satisfactory that the workers accepted it.⁵³ Although the precise nature of the grievance in these two cases is not clear, most disputes at this time revolved about questions of dismissal, short-time working and reduction of pay attendant upon the destruction of industry caused by hostilities with Japan. In 1939 the Section was

called upon to mediate in fifty-nine disputes, in twelve of which it was able to prevent strike action from taking place, though no indication is given of the overall number of cases in which the Section's intervention resulted in a satisfactory resolution of differences.⁵⁴ In this year the conflict was chiefly over wages, because of the steep rise in the cost of living since the previous year. The Section began to urge upon workers and management the conclusion of collective agreements to which the Industrial Section was a party, and seven such agreements were signed in 1939.⁵⁵ In 1940 the Section mediated in one hundred and eleven disputes, the majority of which originated in wage questions, and was able to forestall strike action in fifty-six cases.⁵⁶ Collective agreements signed during the year numbered twenty-six, and provided not only for the scale of wages and hours of work but also specified certain fringe benefits and required the prior mediation of the Industrial Section before any industrial dispute could result in a strike or lockout.⁵⁷

As mediation in industrial disputes was an entirely new activity for the Industrial Section, and one which might be the subject of some controversy, the Section found it necessary in its 1939 report to Council to justify its intervention in this sphere,

"The city is still overcrowded, and for the sake of its general peace and safety disputes should not be allowed to become exacerbated, to continue unnecessarily, or to spread to other industries. Difficulties in operation of plants are already so great that losses from stoppages of work should be reduced to a minimum. Where thousands are still a charge on the charity of the city, workers with work to do should not be permitted to lose their power to earn..."⁵⁸

While the first step of Section officials in attempting mediation was always to establish the pattern of wage progress in a factory to see how it compared with the rise in the cost of living,⁵⁹ and while it was claimed that where a stoppage had taken place no pressure was brought to bear to "...induce workers to resume before they were satisfied that they had obtained the best possible adjustment of their claims..."⁶⁰,

it is apparent that the Section's view that workers should not be coerced was not shared by the Municipal Police, by whom an increasing number of disputes were referred for 'mediation'.⁶¹ It is significant that the Section should choose to warn the Council in 1940 that

"Until workers may express themselves without fear of loss of employment, it cannot be said that full freedom of workers to act collectively exists."⁶²

In February 1937 the head of the Industrial Section was made concurrently 'Protector of Mui Tsai' in the International Settlement, and charged with the responsibility of investigating the extent to which the domestic service performed by these girls constituted a form of slavery. Expansion in this sphere led in due course to a more active concern for other young people exploited in employment or otherwise victimised.

In September 1937 the Industrial Section appointed its first social worker, who proceeded to investigate so far as possible the conditions of employment of 'mui tsai', and the existing provision among charitable organisations for disposition of those cases which were brought before the courts.⁶³ In actual fact, it was subsequently recognised that it was only really possible to explore cases of abuse brought by the police before the courts, as the First Special District Court was in the event disinclined to view the selling or receiving of young girls into domestic service as constituting in itself an offence.⁶⁴

The investigation into the plight of 'mui tsai' raised questions about other aspects of juvenile employment. In 1937 the Engineering Society of China initiated an enquiry into apprenticeship in machine shops; while no published report appears to have been produced, it did result in due course in a scheme according to which engineering establishments offering training which conformed to standards outlined by the Society could voluntarily register their apprentices with the Industrial Section.⁶⁵ In 1938 the Industrial Section itself carried out a study into

the situation of twenty-seven girls under labour contract, temporarily unemployed and housed in a refugee camp;⁶⁶ the previous year the Section had managed to persuade one major British employer to abandon altogether the use of intermediaries in the hiring of labour.⁶⁷ No attempt would be made to proscribe the labour contract system, but these soundings helped to convince the Industrial Section that girls under contract were in need of constant supervision if they were not to be subject to mistreatment.

In the course of 1938 the report on 'mui tsai' was completed, and the findings were adopted by the Council on December 16th. The report recommended the creation of a 'Child Protection Section' appended to the Industrial Section, in recognition of the fact that there were several categories of young people at risk, and that 'mui tsai' were only a part of the problem.⁶⁸ The report found that 'exploited young persons' were:

- "1. Those in domestic environment - 'mui tsai' or 'pei nu': adopted daughters, daughters-in-law-in-raising, maid servants.
2. Those who are beggars, lost, homeless, abandoned, abducted, who are on the streets and some of whom come to police attention.
3. Those in 'amusement' occupations, 'girl guides', dancing partners, some of whom are in the control of contractors, girls in houses of prostitution.
4. Those who are employed in industry - girls under labour contract in textile mills and boys, so-called 'apprentices', who are unpaid workers in small-scale industry." ⁶⁹

Ironically, of these four groups it was decided that 'mui tsai', hidden as they were in domestic employment, were the least susceptible to assistance, and the Section therefore postponed action on 'mui tsai' except in cases of abuse which came to its attention until conditions were more favourable. Upon creation of the Child Protection Section, however, ameliorative work began with the other three groups. The

Section hired two more social workers, and the services of another were donated by the Shanghai Community Church; henceforth two social workers would attend to juvenile beggars and delinquents, and one each to girls in amusement occupations and young people in industry.⁷⁰

Abandoned or delinquent children coming into the hands of the police were often referred directly to one of the charitable institutions caring for juveniles in Shanghai; where charges were pressed in juvenile cases, representations made by a social worker would often have the same result. The Section's social workers attempted to establish a close liaison with children in the institutions, to prepare them where possible for re-integration into society. To this end, many were taught to be hawkers, shoe-menders, street barbers and the like, and given limited financial assistance with which to establish themselves.⁷¹ Efforts to place delinquent children in industrial employment were only moderately successful.⁷² Concern for girls in the 'amusement' occupations was principally expressed as assistance to those who had suffered abuse, or to those brought in by the police. The Section made a study in 1940 of sixty-eight girls convicted for prostitution, and another of two hundred and forty-four dancing girls. While the condition of the dancing girls was considered to be relatively satisfactory, the nature and extent of prostitution in Shanghai was found to be a cause for grave concern.⁷³

On behalf of children in industry, an attempt was made in 1939 to have an experimental 'Young Workers' Employment Contract' accepted throughout one industry, that producing miniature lamp bulbs. The contract required that management assume responsibility for paying a young worker a definite wage approved by the Section, in addition to providing food and lodging. Hours of work were laid down, and employers were obliged to keep young workers who had no resources even when business was slack.⁷⁴ While it had been the intention of the Section to regulate even more closely the employment of juvenile workers in

industry, there is little evidence to suggest that even this rather mild form of intervention became widespread. As in the case of other young people, the Section seems to have concentrated its energy more on instances of abuse which came to its attention than on taking out the evil by its roots. In all, the Section handled 677 cases of disadvantaged children in 1939, and a further 676 cases in 1940.⁷⁵

Other initiatives taken by the Industrial Section in the second phase of its activity related to attempts to improve workers' housing and diet, to the provision of technical training, and the ongoing promotion of health and safety in industry.

After decades of the uncontrolled growth of slum housing in Shanghai, the decision of the Municipal Council in 1936, reinforced at a meeting of Ratepayers, to appoint a committee to investigate accommodation in the International Settlement was welcomed by many as a major step forward. The resultant Housing Committee lost no time in carrying out its mandate, and its report and recommendations had been submitted to Council, and adopted with some modifications, by the end of June 1937. Among other things, the Committee recommended that alterations to buildings should come under close supervision and that partitioning to provide 'dovecote' accommodation for workers, and conversion of unsuitable housing for industrial purposes be discouraged, that Council should encourage the construction of new dwellings in which a single family would occupy a single room, and also encourage the construction of small buildings to be used solely as industrial premises. It was proposed that the provision of 'lofts' in future dwellings, into which still more people were usually crammed, should be banned. The report recommended that an ongoing committee should consider means of reducing rent and improving hygiene, while further study was also suggested of possibilities with respect to subsidised public housing, reduced rate assessment for existing housing, co-operation with the Chinese authorities in housing questions, the provision of

cheaper and better transportation, and increased wages. It was proposed that 'excessive population influx' into the Settlement be discouraged.⁷⁶

While the Report was adopted by the Council, its only mandatory provision, that lofts be banned, was rejected on the ground that poor families were better placed in lofts than they would be on the street.⁷⁷ A standing committee was appointed which included the Commissioners of Health and Public Works, and Eleanor Hinder from the Industrial Section to advise on the economic and social recommendations.⁷⁸ In August, however, hostilities intervened, and in the event no part of the Housing Committee's report was ever put into practice.

Upon the outbreak of war, the most urgent necessity facing the Settlement authorities was the provision of food and shelter for working people whose homes had been destroyed in fighting that had encroached on Settlement territory in places, and for the many thousands of refugees from the Chinese municipality and beyond. Where possible new jobs needed to be found for those whose livelihood had been forfeit through destruction or closure of their place of work. The Council and the various charitable agencies co-operated in the administration of a number of large refugee camps, and in this work the Industrial Section actively participated.

By 1938 there had been a sufficient return to more normal conditions for the Section to undertake a study of the accommodation of sixty textile workers, which revealed a dramatic increase in overcrowding as well as in rent paid.⁷⁹ The same year a study of 'truck' was begun,⁸⁰ the extent to which workers were paid in other than a money wage, for example through the provision of food and housing - though there is no indication that this study was ever completed. By 1940 the rise in rents attendant upon the shortage of housing had become an acute problem; although principal tenants were protected by law from

the more exceptional demands of their landlords, sub-tenants were afforded no similar protection from principal tenants.⁸¹ A study of the situation was made by the Industrial Section in 1940. Although the Council adopted a bye-law on overcrowding in April 1941⁸² the necessary complementary legislation on terms for sub-letting was not put forward, and no action was taken. Only after the Japanese occupation had taken place did the newly reconstituted Council forbid the summary eviction of sub-tenants, require a licence to sub-let, and control all rents.⁸³

Throughout the war years the Section had from time to time expressed distaste for the growing tendency on the part of factory management to house workers in dormitories, officials of the Section arguing that this reduced still further the freedom of working people. Apart from offering a six week discussion course to thirty-six dormitory matrons in 1940 on the subject of how to improve conditions of dormitory life, however, no other initiative was taken on this question.⁸⁴

Because of the wartime emergency, no new research into the diet of workers was undertaken between 1937 and 1940. In the latter year, the Section conducted jointly with the Henry Lester Institute of Medical Research a study of the diet and physical condition of five hundred women and two hundred men working in a textile mill. Recommendations were made for an improved diet and the installation of air-conditioning in order to reduce the incidence of dietary deficiency disease, labour turnover and absenteeism.⁸⁵ Other factories were encouraged to improve the diet of their workers, and some began to provide facilities to enable workers to cook properly the rice they brought with them. Where a 'pao fan-ti', or rice contractor was responsible for providing a factory with food, efforts were made to contact him in order to explain how the most nutritious food could be supplied for the least money.⁸⁶ A promotional film designed to illustrate precisely this was in process of being made at the time of the outbreak of the Pacific War in December 1941.⁸⁷

In the sphere of technical training, the Industrial Section began in 1939 to build on its earlier experience of offering evening instruction to boiler attendants. That year, a further 243 attendants were given twenty-four hours of instruction in the safe operation of boilers,⁸⁸ while the following year another 113 completed a similar course.⁸⁹ In 1939 148 fitters completed a sixty-eight hour course designed to provide them with a theoretical training to reinforce their existing practical knowledge; their classes were attended by 30 'lao kwei', more experienced workers who substituted for qualified engineering foremen in many factories.⁹⁰ In 1940 182 fitters and mechanics from machinery manufacturing workshops attended a similar course.⁹¹ The same year 112 men took a twenty-four hour course in the safe operation of power presses.⁹² The Section also attempted to educate the owners of plant and machinery in the of safe practice; over the two years special meetings were convened for the owners of small lamp bulb factories, tanneries, boiler yards, metal polishing shops, cellulose spray paint shops, and plants using power presses, among others.⁹³

Although facilities for regular post-secondary school technical education existed in Shanghai by 1940⁹⁴ no opportunity was available to rank and file workers with practical technical experience to gain a theoretical understanding of their work other than these ad hoc classes. It was therefore decided that a permanent facility for rank and file technical education was needed, and in the autumn of 1941 the Industrial Section opened two evening technical schools for adult workers, beginning with mechanics and fitters.⁹⁵ Electricians were admitted the following year. The entrance requirements were three years' apprenticeship in the appropriate trade, and a passing mark in an examination pitched approximately at the level of completion of primary school.⁹⁶ The course was to be of three years' duration; eighty-five students were in attendance at the end of the first year of operation of the schools.⁹⁷ It was anticipated that in due course the night primary schools operated by the Council for several years would become 'feeders' for the technical schools.

In the realm of industrial health and safety, the Section after 1937 continued with the work it had begun earlier, monitoring accidents, and advising and persuading owners of the need for precautionary measures, though without the assistance of Rewi Alley, who left shortly after the outbreak of war to work for Indusco, the Section came no nearer to winning acceptance for the principle that the law should require factory owners to pay compensation for death or injury to workers; the Chinese government was neither willing nor able to apply this part of its factory legislation to Chinese firms, while foreign firms sheltered under extra-territorial privilege. The novel suggestion that the Compensation Act of the District of Columbia should apply to American factories in China was neither accepted nor rejected in any finite way.⁹⁸ The practice remained for owners to pay some compensation in case of death, but seldom in case of injury. In 1939 the Section achieved a small victory when the First Special District Court accepted jurisdiction in one case involving fire risk in industrial premises and two more involving danger from pressure vessels, under provisions of the Law Governing Penalties for Police Offences.⁹⁹ Although the matter would never really be put to the test, the possibility of legal sanctions to reinforce Industrial Section regulations seemed less remote.

While it is evident that a measure of progress was achieved by the Industrial Section during the nearly ten years of its existence in improving conditions of health and safety in the factories, in monitoring the livelihood of workers and sometimes stepping in to help them maintain it, and in encouraging or undertaking experiments in the provision of better housing, food, and technical education, it is equally clear that the Section's programme was deficient in certain fundamental respects. As Eleanor Hinder herself was to remark:

"There was never a Council decision, for example, as to what should be the length of the working day, or how many rest days workers should have each month.

No Council committee debated what minimum standards should be recommended to industrial enterprises. Latterly, because of the great rise in living costs, the Council paid close attention to the basis of the people's livelihood; but it did not consider whether any other influence than the publication of facts about the cost of living should be exerted to obtain more adequate wages for workers."¹⁰⁰

It will be apparent, therefore, on closer examination, that no initiative was taken which would have interfered with the profitability of industry, and indeed where modification of accepted practice was recommended, the Section's policy of 'education and persuasion' dictated that the economic incentive should be stressed when the point was put across. While Hinder had earlier recognised that

"...when the question becomes one of the application of such restrictive clauses as those concerning hours of work, persuasion will be adequate..."¹⁰¹

the logic of gradual reform, requiring consensus among the ruling group, before a policy could be pursued, imposed its own constraints. Thus the Industrial Section in its approach remained essentially paternal, alleviating the worst distress where it could, but never challenging the order which sanctioned the ruthless exploitation of working people.

CHAPTER 7

A Case Study in Industrial Reform: the Campaign to Limit the Use of Child Labour in Shanghai, 1922-25

In order to complete the account of the efforts of Christian reformers to achieve amelioration of industrial conditions through persuasion and legislation, it is necessary to consider the project which was perhaps the principal focus of their attention in the early period, the campaign to limit the use of child labour in factories in the International Settlement of Shanghai, conducted between 1922 and 1925. This particular campaign remains the best documented of any of the projects undertaken by the reformers, and offers not only, in the Report of the Child Labour Commission of 1924, a vivid insight into the life and labour of working class children in Shanghai, but also, in the unpublished Minutes recording the proceedings of the Commission, one of the earliest comprehensive surveys of factory life as a whole. It will be apparent further that the issue of the restriction of child labour was a highly emotive one on which the maximum of support could be expected. If the difficulties in the way of gradual reform generally conspired after three years of work to defeat the reformers on this question, then the prospects for progress on issues over which there would be less unanimity, such as the reduction of hours, increase of wages, and the provision of safety precautions for adult workers, must seem in retrospect to have been remote indeed.

The employment of women and children had for some years been a salient feature of the operation of both Chinese and foreign factories in Shanghai. In itself, the phenomenon of whole families working was not at all new in China; it had long been known in handicraft industry and in agriculture. The strain and unsuitability of the work for women and children was far greater in modern industry, however, than it was in the more traditional occupations, and the excessive hours and hazard-

ous conditions which attended their work alongside dangerous power machinery posed a necessity for regulation which, though it had begun to be met in Europe some half a century previously, had not been faced in China by 1920.

The evidence as to the extent of the employment of children in modern industry in Shanghai in the 1920's is inadequate and conflicting. For example, in the Government white paper Labour Conditions in China a British consular official found that, in 1925, some 4,800 or approximately 17% of the 28,000 workers in British-owned factories in Shanghai were children under twelve.¹ In two British-American plants some 550 of the 6,000 workers, roughly 9%, were under twelve, while in Japanese factories the figure was $5\frac{1}{2}\%$, in Chinese factories 13%, and in all factories, foreign and Chinese, an average of $14\frac{1}{2}\%$. In some foreign concerns, notably the five French factories, children constituted almost 50% of the workforce.

A further set of figures, taken by Jean Chesneaux from an independent contemporary source, show that for the silk industry in the same period there were in Shanghai thirty-nine Chinese factories employing 3,566 children under twelve, representing 15.9% of the total labour employed, while there were twenty-seven foreign factories employing 9,930 children under twelve, representing 41% of the total labour employed.² These last figures comprised a child labour force of a remarkable 44% in British factories (9 factories, 3021 children), 28.1% in American factories (7 factories, 1250 children), 47.7% in French factories (5 factories, 2599 children), and 48.4% in Italian factories (6 factories, 3060 children). In the cotton industry, there were said to be in Shanghai eighteen Chinese mills whose 3615 children constituted 9.3% of total employees, and twenty-four British and Japanese mills whose 4305 children were 8% of the labour force. In nine other factories performing various functions related to the textile industry, 5.3% or 140 of the workers were children.

While it would be difficult to make the two sets of figures correspond with any degree of accuracy, it nonetheless becomes clear that the extent to which children were employed in the mills and factories of Shanghai was considerable. The two sources are in accord on the substantial preponderance of girls over boys employed in an industrial capacity, and the figures cited by Chesneaux show this same disproportion existing between women and men, especially in textiles.³

That Chinese workers were willing to see their women and children go into the factories in such great numbers, it would sometimes be argued, was a reflection of the strength of patriarchal Confucian attitudes among people who had left the countryside at the most only a generation or so before, and according to this theory, women and children had always worked, and indeed it was their duty to do so to advance the position of the family. Yet children were not put to work in traditional China simply because it taught them a sense of responsibility, but primarily because of their contribution to the common income - for the value of their labour. So too in Shanghai in the twentieth century parents were "...unwilling to deprive themselves of the earnings of their children...".⁴ As China Year Book put it,

"The problem of female and child labour in China is different from that of Western countries. The earnings of the head of a family in China either among farmers or artisans are so small that it is necessary for the welfare of the family that all members of it contribute some earnings as soon as possible."⁵

While it is difficult to gather from the fragmentary information available for this early period any exact statistics as to average income and cost of living for a working class family in Shanghai, figures thrown up during public discussion of the proposed child labour legislation and other measures advocated by reformers in 1925 and 1926 will give some idea of the subsistence level of existence endured by most working people. According to the China Year Book, the average monthly wage

of the ordinary unskilled worker in Shanghai in 1921 had been approximately \$10.50, and of a skilled worker \$28.00, while women and children would have earned about \$6.00 per month.⁶ A writer for the North China Herald estimated that by 1926 the unskilled worker would be paid \$15.00 per month,⁷ and so the other wages might be projected accordingly. It was also suggested that the absolute minimum subsistence wage for one person in 1926 was \$12.00 per month, for a husband and wife \$15.00, and for a family of four \$21.00.⁸

A Chinese correspondent submitted his own calculations to the North China Herald in April 1925 to show that at that time a family of six - mother and father, two children and two grandparents - would spend at least \$34.76 per month in order to subsist, and that this would require all six members of the family to be working.⁹ Although the International Labour Review was to assert in 1929 that in general wages in Shanghai had kept pace with the rise in the cost of living in the 'twenties,¹⁰ figures cited by Jean Chesneaux show that the price of rice, the staple of the working man's diet, had almost doubled in Shanghai between 1919 and 1925.¹¹ If this is compared to the less than 50% increase in wages above between 1921 and 1926, it is possible to conclude that the standard of living of the Shanghai working family where the father was unskilled and there were any children at all, the mother would have to work and most probably the children as well, if the family was even to stay alive. This contention is supported by testimony, never published, to the Child Labour Commission, to which witness after witness stated that the income of the children was essential to the survival of the family.¹²

Probably as a result of the creation of the International Labour Organisation in 1919, and standards adopted by it inter alia with respect to the employment of children, the British colonial government of Hong Kong in 1921 appointed a Commission to enquire into the extent and nature of child labour in the colony. The appointment of this Commission

aroused some interest in Shanghai, where the employment of children was on a much greater scale, and prompted a considerable correspondence in the North China Daily News in September of that year under the heading 'The Children of Martha and Mary'.¹³ The problem was already under review by the YWCA, and at the instigation of Agatha Harrison the Association decided at the end of September to approach certain women's organisations with a view to seeing what could be done.¹⁴ Consultations took place, and on November 2nd a Joint Committee of Women's Clubs was formed from representatives of the American, British and Japanese Women's Clubs, the Shanghai Women's Club, and the Shanghai YWCA. The object of the Joint Committee was to promote interest in the conditions under which children laboured in Shanghai, and to work towards alleviating those conditions.¹⁵

In the ensuing year, members of the Committee were able to visit shops and factories and gain a first-hand impression of the children at work, but when they came to seek support from prominent employers for legislation to restrict the use of child labour they met with the first in a long series of complications. Foreign millowners would support legislation only if it were to be applied both inside and outside the International Settlement. Chinese millowners responded similarly,¹⁶ and in any event would not act until the Peking Government's Provisional Factory Regulations, proposed for 1923, had been promulgated. The Shanghai Municipal Council would take no initiative without the approval of both Chinese and foreign employers.¹⁷ For Agatha Harrison, who it will be recalled was trying simultaneously to move employers on the broader front of overall industrial reform, the tactics of delay and evasion must have been all too familiar.¹⁸

After much frustration, the Joint Committee addressed a formal letter to the Shanghai Municipal Council on March 1st 1923, outlining their minimum programme. This called for the abolition of night work for children under twelve, the provision of part-time schools, and the

extension of the power of the Municipal Health Department to include supervision of ventilation, sanitation and safety in factories.¹⁹ The letter further made reference to the call by the National Christian Council some time earlier for the abolition of all employment of children under twelve. In its reply of April 5th, the Council agreed to appoint a Commission similar to that which had existed in Hong Kong to investigate the whole question of child labour in the International Settlement, and invited the Joint Committee to nominate prospective candidates for it.²⁰ The Commission was duly constituted, and held its first meeting on June 33nd 1923.

In its composition, the Commission was clearly weighted in favour of the business community, with five of its ten members drawn from among executives of the major manufacturing interests in Shanghai.²¹ Its Chairman was a lawyer, while the other four members were women - two from the YWCA, another the wife of a prominent missionary, and the final one a doctor with experience of treating factory workers.²² Several Commissioners were compelled for various reasons to drop out as the investigations progressed, only one of whom in the event was replaced.²³ In the autumn of 1923 Dame Adelaide Anderson, former Chief Lady Inspector of Factories in the United Kingdom, was invited to serve on the Commission, and took up her seat in December.²⁴

The Commission was mandated by the Municipal Council

"...to enquire into the conditions of child labour in Shanghai and vicinity, and to make recommendations to the Council as to what regulations, if any, should be applied to child labour in the foreign settlement of Shanghai, having regard to practical considerations and local conditions generally."²⁵

bearing in mind that

"...reforms are very necessary if we are to justify our claims to be enlightened administrators of this important Settlement..."²⁵

The Commission was instructed to explore the possibility of co-operation with the Chinese authorities in Peking with a view to developing the Peking Government's existing factory legislation so that it might be applied by the Council in the Settlement.²⁷

At their first meeting, members of the Commission decided that their principal method of approach would be to summon witnesses whom it was thought could give expert testimony about the nature, extent and implications of the use of child labour. Over the next twelve months, therefore, the Commission held thirty-three meetings, usually of about two hours' duration, to which some thirty-six witnesses were summoned. Of these witnesses, surviving evidence enables thirty to be identified: eleven were prominent employers (of whom two were actually Commission members), four were senior police officials, five were doctors or other medical personnel, four were employees of the YMCA or the YWCA, two were labour contractors, one was a compradore for a silk filature, one an architect, one the editor of a Nationalist newspaper, and only one - a woman - was a worker, this despite the fact that Agatha Harrison had pointed out at the first meeting that "...it would be possible to get some of the workers to give very articulate evidence..."²⁸ The Commission also reviewed evidence submitted in writing with respect to the numbers of children employed (according to the police), current Chinese factory legislation, current and past British factory legislation, and the policy of individual companies with regard to the employment of children and workers' welfare.²⁹ In addition, members of the Commission made several tours of inspection of representative factories in all the major industrial districts of Shanghai, both in the daytime and at night, and developed a standard form of enquiry used to measure conditions in one factory against those in another.³⁰

A summary of testimony to the Commission with regard to hours and conditions of labour for children in Shanghai is incorporated in a review of its findings below. It is necessary here, however, to convey

something of the tone of the hearings. What must appear astonishing in retrospect is that the Commission's ultimate recommendations were so positive, given the scepticism and apparent indifference of so many witnesses called before it. Even the protagonists of reform among their number, who seem to have been in a minority, could see very substantial difficulties in the way of any change in the existing policy of complete laissez-faire.

The obstacles in the way of reform envisaged by witnesses fell broadly into three categories. There were the objections which it was felt would be raised by workers themselves, the objections registered by employers, and the practical difficulties in the way of implementation of any legislation to limit the use of child labour.

Among objections likely to be raised by workers, the one given greatest emphasis was that rooted in the low level of adult wages, which necessitated that all the family be at work in many cases in order that all the family should survive. This point was made by no fewer than seven witnesses, none of whom seemed to think it likely that employers would raise adult wages in order to compensate for the loss by the family of the earnings of the children.³¹ In these circumstances parents were obliged to, and did, insist that their children go to work. Another reason for parents' likely resistance to legislation, put forward by five witnesses, would be that their children would have no one to look after them and nowhere to go while adults were working if they too were not allowed into the factories.³² Two other witnesses feared that legislation to restrict child labour would interfere with 'general practice', or established custom in China, according to which children had always worked at an early age.³³ One witness thought adults would find children's work in silk filatures too tedious,³⁴ while another felt adults performing processes in the filatures previously performed by children would object to the strict discipline necessary to the smooth running of production.³⁵ Finally, seven witnesses thought

it very likely that any attempt to introduce legislation to ban child labour would lead to strikes by adult workers and social disorder on the part of their children,³⁶ who so long as they were in the factories were "...less likely to become criminals...".³⁷ Of all these objections, only the primary economic one was put forward by the single worker testifying before the Commission, and she felt that most working people would be willing to make sacrifices in order to keep their children out of the mills.³⁸

Of the objections voiced on behalf of employers, the principal concerned the possible financial cost to them of the elimination of children from their factories. Three witnesses felt that factories might be compelled to pay higher wages for jobs presently performed by children because adults could command higher wages, because they would need more money to support their children who were not working, or simply to attract the labour;³⁹ one of these witnesses went so far as to observe that his company had had to close down one of its mills in Hong Kong because of increased labour costs attendant upon the passage of labour legislation.⁴⁰ Another witness felt that legislation to ban child labour solely in the International Settlement might drive much adult labour to the areas of Chinese jurisdiction, thereby forcing up the cost of adult labour generally within the Settlement.⁴¹ Two witnesses were worried that employers simply would not be able to find the adult labour to compensate for the loss of the children in their factories,⁴² one calculating that, allowing for some migration of adults along with their children to areas outside the Settlement, certain factories would face the loss of approximately forty per cent of their labour force.⁴³ Other arguments concerned the efficiency with which children were supposed to perform their work, two witnesses noting that children under twelve picked up things more quickly than older workers,⁴⁴ and another witness observing that adult women might hurt their backs bending down to brush the silk cocoons if they took over this process from children in the filatures.⁴⁵ With regard to the

suggestion that the abolition of child labour might in the long run produce more alert and efficient adult workers as had happened in the West, one prominent witness was led to remark,

"In this respect Chinese workers could not be compared with Western. He was afraid any efforts to make the Oriental work at high pressure would be fruitless."⁴⁶

Another problem was raised with respect to night work, from which it was felt it would be difficult to exclude children at the risk of impeding the smooth functioning of the two-shift system.⁴⁷

Several practical difficulties were seen to stand in the way of actual implementation of any reform, the principal one being the need to obtain co-operation of Chinese authorities in order to try to have similar legislation enforced both inside and outside the International Settlement so as to minimise both the cost and dislocation to employers and to reduce the likelihood of wholesale migration of labour.⁴⁸ It was recognised that the absence of any strong central authority in China militated against any such uniform enforcement of new regulations.⁴⁹

A number of witnesses pointed out that there was no way of accurately telling the age of Chinese children who presented themselves for employment, as there was no system of birth registration in China.⁵⁰ Usually height and weight were the criteria used to judge a child's age where any attempt at all was made to bar very young children from a mill, but one witness suggested that in future children seeking employment might be obliged to carry a certificate as proof of age⁵¹ which one Commission member thought might carry a photograph and finger prints.⁵² A witness from the YWCA pointed out that many child workers were in fact outworkers,⁵³ whose labour by virtue of its being carried on at home was very difficult to control. Another witness, the editor of a Nationalist newspaper, warned that any attempt on the part of foreigners to impose factory inspection on Chinese employers was likely to meet with a hostile reaction.⁵⁴

In spite of all these objections, many witnesses when confronted directly would not take a position expressly opposed to the limitation of child labour, and some actually thought that reform would be a good thing.⁵⁵ Most employers contrived both to register strenuous objections and to say that child labour was not necessary to the continued success of their enterprises.⁵⁶ Only two witnesses "...did not think there was any very great evil..."⁵⁷ in the employment of children, and were prepared to leave things as they were. Both of these witnesses came from the Municipal Police.

The testimony in this vein of one police officer, the Deputy Commissioner of Police and second in command of police work for the whole of the International Settlement, Major Hilton Johnson, is quite remarkable. In addition to subscribing to most of the objections put forward by other witnesses, Hilton Johnson felt that there would be insuperable difficulties in the way of provision of factory inspection in Shanghai, and that the Municipal Council had neither the mandate nor the power to enact and enforce labour legislation, particularly as there was no Chinese opinion in favour of it. As there was no chance of co-operation with authorities outside the Settlement on the question, the enactment of legislation to restrict the use of child labour inside the Settlement would impose

"...a restriction upon legitimate business and for that reason he would say it would be unfair."⁵⁸

Both Hilton Johnson and his Director of Criminal Intelligence admitted that they had "...no particular knowledge at first hand of the extent or conditions of child labour in Shanghai..."⁵⁹

A number of witnesses were asked whether they thought workers' children would be better off in the mills or on the streets. Although the mandate of the Commission did not proscribe discussion of other alternatives, it evidently did not seem possible that serious consideration should be given to the provision of schools for children, so they

would have somewhere to go, and where their future prospects might be enhanced. Dame Adelaide Anderson's observation that "...education and child labour prohibition went side by side..." apparently passed without notice.⁶⁰

The Commission finally drew up its report and presented it to the Municipal Council complete with recommendations on July 9th 1924. The main body of the report dealt with testimony and observation as to the actual conditions in which children worked in Shanghai, and a review of this evidence is appropriate here. In general it was observed that while Chinese children living in rural surroundings were on the whole relatively healthy, their counterparts in Shanghai endured an existence which was adverse in the extreme to their bodily and mental well-being. In particular they suffered frequently from industrial accidents because of the long hours and monotony of their work, and tended to be highly susceptible to tuberculosis brought about by the often very humid conditions of work in the factory buildings. Crowded living arrangements and extreme poverty were also blamed for the city children's poor physique.

Concerning itself with child labour in the larger 'mills, factories, and similar places of industry', the Commission found that common to all these enterprises was the fact that children usually started work in them as soon as they could be of any economic value to the employer. The Commission estimated that many of the children it saw at work were very probably no more than five or six years old. Night work was more the rule than the exception, two shifts of twelve hours generally being worked in the day, with never more than an hour off for a meal. Children were compelled to work the same hours as adults, in order to keep up with the pace of manufacture. In most factories, work stopped for one shift every week to enable maintenance to be carried out on the machinery; in addition some concerns encouraged their employees to take a day off each week, without much success, however,

as workers often could not afford the loss of salary. These interruptions, and the holidays at the Chinese New Year, formed the only respite from the otherwise continuous cycle of work and sleep. Sanitary provisions were found to be primitive, while the often high level of dust and inadequate ventilation were also objects of criticism.

Apart from the British American tobacco factories, the largest and most important factories in Shanghai were the cotton mills to which many of these criticisms were found to apply. The Commission noted that children employed by the mills were chiefly to be seen in the spinning departments, where they had to stand at their work throughout their entire shift. Many of those working were estimated to be only six or seven years old. Day and night, mothers would bring with them to the mills their children who were as yet too young to work, and leave them in baskets to try to sleep in close proximity to the fast-moving machinery. It was determined that those children who were supposed to be at work quite frequently succumbed to fatigue, and either tried to find a quiet corner in which to pass the remainder of their shift, hoping to avoid discovery, or else dozed off at their machines, usually with disastrous results. The Commission concluded that the children's work could be done just as well by adults, and that as there appeared to be no shortage of labour in the cotton industry there was no reason why children should not be debarred from employment in the cotton mills of Shanghai.

Turning to silk filatures, the Commission found that nearly all the employees in these concerns were either women or young girls. The task of the children was to brush the cocoons and remove the waste material from them so they would be ready for the reelers who reeled the silk thread. One child was normally employed for every two adults in the total process. The peeling of the cocoons was usually carried on over cauldrons of nearly boiling water with which the children's fingers regularly came into contact, leaving them rough and swollen. Faintings

from the humidity were not uncommon, especially in hot weather. As in the cotton mills, the work was almost invariably performed standing up, many of the children going through the motion of alternately bending and straightening their knees in rapid succession in order to ease the strain. Night work was found to be unusual in the silk industry, the normal working day being twelve hours. One problem peculiar to this industry concerned the fulfilment of quotas. Adults were given a certain number of cocoons and from them were obliged to produce a certain quantity of silk. If they had too little to show they were fined, and often took their revenge on the children working under them.

The Commission concluded that the employment of children under the conditions they observed in the silk industry was indefensible.

"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."⁶¹

The Commission found that the work could just as well be done by adults, though certain machinery might have to be reconstructed because of the difference in height. Some shortage of labour was reported in the silk industry. It was suggested that the silk mills in Shanghai might adopt a procedure employed by one successful Chinese filature in Hangchow, and in use in Japan, whereby the boiling room, tended by boys of sixteen or over, was kept separate from the reeling room and cocoons were cooled before they were peeled.

In cigarette and tobacco factories, the Commission found conditions of employment for children to be substantially better than in the cotton and silk industries. Year round employment was not customary, night work was not frequent, and the children put in a nine or ten hour day and were able to sit at their work which was 'light in nature'. The situation in match factories was quite different, however, Members of the Commission visited several match factories in the vicinity of Shanghai, and saw children as young as five years of age performing

with 'incredible rapidity' chores such as boxing matches and making up parcels of boxes, for wages only half those paid to children in other industries. Here again, babies and children not old enough even to box matches slept or played on the floor while their mothers worked. In some factories it was discovered that white phosphorous was used in the manufacture of the matches, with cases of phosphorous poisoning having been observed to result. Although most governments in Western Europe had banned the manufacture or importation of white phosphorous matches in 1908, they continued to be produced in China into the late 'twenties. The making of match boxes was carried on outside the factories, and was normally farmed out to women and their young children to be done at home.

The risk of fire was obviously very great in match factories, yet the Commission noted that not even the most simple precautions were observed, such as the provision of fire screens between child workers. Indeed, the lack of precautions against the outbreak of fire was a general criticism made of all factories visited. Old buildings were not governed at all by the Municipal Fire Safety Regulations, while new factories were required only to submit their plans for approval at the drawing board stage. Inspections were carried out periodically, and recommendations made for fire prevention, but little notice was usually taken because they did not carry the force of law. Many older buildings were considered unsafe, and time after time the Commission observed that fire exits were locked or made inaccessible by new supplies of material stacked in front of the doors.

In addition to cotton mills and silk filatures, cigarette and match factories, the Commission also discussed in its report the engineering and ship-building trades, printing works, laundries, and the building trade, with varying amounts of evidence to hand for each. Foreign ownership was represented less in these endeavours, however, and the employment of children in them seems to have been less spectacular, and of less concern to the Commission.

The Commission gave explicit recognition to the many obstacles in the way of reform of child labour noted in testimony before it, but nonetheless put forward a strong recommendation in favour of reform, urging the Municipal Council to seek power to make and enforce regulations as follows:

to prohibit the employment in factories and industrial undertakings of children under ten years of age, rising to twelve years of age within four years

to prohibit the employment of children under fourteen for more than twelve hours out of twenty-four, one hour of rest to be provided in twelve

not to prohibit the employment of children at night, although this was considered to be a serious evil, but to provide for further consideration of this question at the end of a period of four years

to provide for a compulsory twenty-four hour rest period every fourteen days for children under fourteen

to prohibit the employment of all children under fourteen in dangerous places, at unguarded machinery, or at work likely to seriously injure body or health

to require a test of age of young people wishing employment, either by height or height and weight, or by the judgement of a sitting magistrate in the case of any prosecution

The Commission went on to clarify the scope of its recommendations, providing

that 'factory' be defined so as to include premises where ten or more persons were engaged in manual work

that 'industrial undertaking' be defined so as to include out-of-door occupations such as building, construction work, and transport, but not agriculture

that regulations should allow for fines or imprisonment for child labour offences

that the Council should establish an adequate staff of trained men and women for carrying out duties of inspection. 63

As the Municipal Council was not a sovereign government in the ordinary sense, it was recognised that it could not simply extend its power by enacting legislation to regulate industrial conditions in the International

Settlement.⁶⁴ Rather, it would be necessary for it to acquire the power through formal adoption of a new bye-law, which would require the approval of a majority of Ratepayers in the Settlement convened in special meeting, as well as ratification by the Consuls and Ministers of all the foreign powers having treaty relations with China. Ratification did not pose any problem, and the issue would really be for the Ratepayers to decide.

Although the Council apparently expressed its broad approval of the Commission's Report in the Municipal Gazette of October 23rd 1924, it was only at its meeting on January 21st 1925 that it formally adopted the recommendations in the Report, and instructed its legal adviser to frame a bye-law incorporating them for presentation to the next annual meeting of Ratepayers.⁶⁵ The date subsequently fixed for this meeting was April 15th, allowing the reform lobby only some six weeks in which to make their final case to the public and try to see that enough voters would turn out to ensure passage of the new legislation.

Efforts to bring the issue of child labour before the public had in fact been under way throughout the time that the Commission had been in session. Much use had been made by the reformers of the presence in China of Dame Adelaide Anderson during the first ten months of 1924, as Dame Adelaide's background and experience, coupled with her membership in the Commission, gave her the prestige necessary to command attention and support for this cause. She visited factories and addressed meetings in Shanghai, Wuchang, Kuling and Peking, and delivered a series of lectures on factory law and administration at Peking University.⁶⁶ She also had interviews with officials of the Labour Department, and the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce of the Peking Government. In Kiangsu she met the Civil Governor, who promised to implement child labour legislation in his province; the advent of civil war in Kiangsu in 1924 relieved the Governor of the necessity to match his words with action. On January 29th 1924 Dame Adelaide addressed a meeting of

employers, urging them to introduce reform in advance of any legislation in the International Settlement, while on May Day she participated in what she termed a 'large gathering of labour groups' in Shanghai, at which resolutions in favour of the abolition of employment of children under twelve and the adoption of the eight-hour day were carried unanimously. By June 1924 Dame Adelaide was already led to remark that "...although the conditions...are generally speaking very terrible, the outlook is hopeful...".⁶⁷

The original publication of the Child Labour Commission's Report in July of 1924, when many of the foreign residents of Shanghai were away on holiday, meant that it did not immediately arouse the response that some had anticipated, and indeed to the dismay of the reformers this hiatus in public interest persisted throughout the autumn.⁶⁸ After the Council's endorsement in principle of the Report near the end of October, however, there was a resurgence of interest stimulated by the activity of the reform lobby, and this reached a climax in March and early April of 1925. From abroad expressions of concern and support for the proposed legislation were sent from nine countries, by organisations and individuals as diverse as the French Women's Union for the League of Nations, the Tata Steel Company in India, officials of the American Department of Labour - Women's Bureau, and Alice Masaryk, daughter of the President of Czechoslovakia.⁶⁹ The International Labour Organisation in Geneva also followed the progress of the campaign.⁷⁰

In Britain articles in support of reform appeared in The Times, The Manchester Guardian, and the New Statesman, and in the United States in the New York Sun.⁷¹ Speeches were made in several cities in Britain and elsewhere by returned members of the Child Labour Commission, notably Agatha Harrison, whose lecture tour in the UK was apparently organised by the Industrial Law Bureau.⁷² In early February, a special meeting was held in London at which Dame Adelaide

Anderson addressed a gathering of M.P.'s, trade unionists, welfare workers, missionaries and others on the subject of the Commission's work.⁷³ As a result of a meeting with Agatha Harrison, the Executive of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce was persuaded also in February to cable its British counterpart in Shanghai

"Child labour, our China Executive having carefully considered report, hope you will be able to very strongly urge Council adopt at an early date their Commission's recommendations."⁷⁴

In China itself the issue was presented and discussed at the Ratepayers' Association, the Theosophical Society, the Jewish Club, the Japanese Club, and the various national women's clubs, while officials of the Joint Committee of Women's Clubs saw to it that a series of articles favourable to reform appeared in the major foreign newspapers in Shanghai.⁷⁵ The British Consul-General John Pratt, acting apparently on the instructions of the Foreign Secretary, canvassed the opinion of all the important manufacturers in the city; his letter brought forth a favourable response to the proposed legislation from seven British, six Chinese, six Japanese and five American concerns.⁷⁶

In addition, public endorsements of the new bye-law were forthcoming from the Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce, from the British Chamber of Commerce and the American Chamber of Commerce, though not from the all-important Chinese General Chamber of Commerce, which while claiming to approve in principle of child labour regulation, opposed its application by the Municipal Council on terms different from those provided for in the Peking Government's Provisional Factory Act of 1923.⁷⁷ That Government now announced its intention of promulgating a more permanent set of factory regulations, with provision for inspection. In the last weeks of the campaign, some sixty letters about child labour were published in the North China Daily News and Herald in Shanghai, and form a distillation of local views upon the subject.⁷⁸ By the late spring of 1925 it was possible to believe that there was "...a strong and widely diffused movement, national in scope, to press for and secure both legislation and voluntary reform..."⁷⁹

On the afternoon of April 15th 1925 the Shanghai Municipal Council convened the special meeting of Ratepayers to consider proposed new bye-laws, not only concerning the restriction of child labour, but also to introduce an increase in wharfage dues, and measures of press control on Chinese newspapers published in the International Settlement.

"The annual meeting...passed off quietly. The total number of voters present was only 399, these representing 622 votes. This was far short of the number required to form a quorum to deal with the special resolutions regarding child labour and the printed matter Bye-law, a total of 914 being necessary for such a purpose, ...in consequence these could not be brought up for consideration."⁸⁰

That the child labour bye-law should not even have achieved any discussion at the meeting stunned and consternated many who had worked for its acceptance.

"...that it should seem as if Shanghai did not care, as if it could not be bothered, as if perhaps the attractions of a fine day and a game of golf were too much to be resisted even for a matter of profound humanity and vital importance, this is indeed tragic."⁸¹

In an editorial three weeks later the North China Herald laid emphasis on the opposition to reform that had existed among the Chinese, and suggested that foreigners had a "...duty to show them the way...".⁸²

A second attempt to have the new bye-law considered was given impetus by the British Consul, who appealed for support to the leading merchants and manufacturers in Shanghai. A letter was forwarded to the Council, calling for another special meeting of Ratepayers to be held early in June, and signed by seventy-six of the Settlement's most prominent residents, of whom Mary Dingman remarked "...not one... I think, is a woman or a missionary...",⁸³ although an opponent of reform subsequently claimed that forty-one of these had not taken the trouble to appear at the first meeting.⁸⁴ On May 8th the Consul

addressed a gathering at his home,⁸⁵ and a house to house canvass of Ratepayers was organised which seems to have been conducted by the Joint Committee of Women's Organisations.⁸⁶ Overtures to the Council to have the second meeting deal only with the question of child labour and not with wharfage dues or press censorship, were unsuccessful.⁸⁷

The special meeting was finally held on June 2nd. In the interim, however, there occurred on May 30th the spectacular shootings by the Municipal Police in the Nanking Road, which plunged Shanghai and later much of China into turmoil the likes of which it had not seen since 1919. Despite the fact that the Council actually sent out messengers on the morning of June 2nd to urge people not to come to the meeting for fear of their safety⁸⁸ the increased canvassing and personal involvement of prominent individuals did raise the number of Ratepayers present to 514, and the number of votes represented to 725.⁸⁹ This still fell 177 votes short of the required quorum, however, and the meeting adjourned after fifteen minutes. Shanghai was now under a state of emergency, and to all intents and purposes the child labour issue was dead.

There was no shortage of explanations as to why the child labour campaign had failed. It was suggested that the tedious nature of Council meetings, which involved the reading of reports and the registering of formal votes had discouraged attendance.⁹⁰ That a quorum had not been achieved - one-third of Ratepayers present or represented - at any annual meeting over the previous nine years⁹¹ was not surprising to many observers, one of whom was tempted to believe that only a rise in rates or taxes or the imposition of prohibition would bring out the numbers required for a vote in special meeting.⁹² Again, it was suggested that the conduct of the campaign principally by women had served to put off some Ratepayers.⁹³ Another problem had been the disposition of Japanese voters, of whom it was estimated four-fifths spoke no English at all. The Municipal Council had been requested but

had refused to provide simultaneous translations into Japanese for the meetings, arguing that this would set a precedent.⁹⁴ Furthermore many Japanese received letters in May from Chinese friends, urging them to abstain from attending the second meeting as part of a coordinated campaign to oppose the introduction of the measures on wharfage dues and press censorship.⁹⁵ As a result, the Japanese apparently were absent 'en bloc' from the meeting of June 2nd.⁹⁶ Indeed, one observer estimated that while fifty per cent of British Ratepayers attended this meeting, there was only nominal representation from other nationalities in Shanghai.⁹⁷

The China Year Book, in analysing the defeat, chose to emphasise the opposition to the reforms which it claimed had developed among Chinese employers. It will be recalled that at this time Chinese residing in the International Settlement were not permitted to vote in elections to the Municipal Council, although this privilege was extended to Ratepayers of almost all other nationalities, and despite the fact that wealthy Chinese contributed very substantially through their rates and taxes to the budget of the Council.⁹⁸ Chinese opposition, which increased during April and May, stemmed partly from the juxtaposition of the child labour bye-law with those designed to raise wharfage dues and to control the Chinese press. It may also be supposed, however, that like their foreign counterparts Chinese employers were disinclined to replace the children in their factories with more expensive adults. On May 29th thirty leading Chinese organisations and businesses issued their statement through the Chinese General Chamber of Commerce, noted above, denouncing the wharfage and press resolutions and giving only very qualified support to the principle represented in that on child labour.⁹⁹ The manifesto expressed the view that it was more humane to let the children work than to force them into starvation, and that if the Council intended to put the reform into effect it ought to provide a food allowance and free schooling for every child deprived of work. While in retrospect it is not possible to agree entirely with Augusta Wagner that

"In the exacerbated state of nationalism, the issue became the right of the foreign Council to make any regulation which would extend foreign power and give greater control over Chinese lives, even lives of small children, and for their own good."¹⁰⁰

nonetheless the nationalist argument may have discouraged some voters who might otherwise have turned out to support the child labour bye-law.

Further insight into the reasons for the failure of the child labour legislation may be gained from reference to the press coverage and public discussion of the issue both in China and in Britain. Although the leading British newspaper in Shanghai - the North China Daily News and in its weekly form the North China Herald - followed the progress of the campaign in its columns, and gave support to it in a series of editorial comments¹⁰¹, it is impossible to escape the conclusion that it did so more out of concern for the good name of foreigners in Shanghai than out of a deep conviction as to the evil of the actual practice. This line of argument is given greatest emphasis in the paper's final editorial on the subject before the first meeting in April.

"Putting aside all considerations of morality or humanity, we cannot afford to alienate the sympathies of people at home, whose attention has been widely attracted to Shanghai in this matter. The time may come when we shall need that sympathy very much - are we likely to get much of it, if all that the man in the street remembers about Shanghai is that it is the place where they work children of six years old for anything up to fifteen hours in the mills and filatures?"¹⁰²

The issue had been raised, and therefore the Herald felt that the Shanghai community ought to address itself to it. When two meetings failed to achieve a quorum, however, and with the May Thirtieth demonstrations coming in the interim, the Herald seemed quite willing to accept the collapse of the child labour campaign as a 'defeat with honour'¹⁰³. It concerned itself no further with the question, and in an editorial two years later remarked that:

"...only the most profound ignorance of conditions here could betray even the most superficial thinker into believing that any foreign firm that employs Chinese thereby exploits them,..."¹⁰⁴

The correspondence in the Herald about the question in the spring of 1925 was similarly ambivalent. Undeniably a proportion of letters to the paper favoured reform, though some of these were written by individuals who had either served on the Commission or been closely involved with it. Among these, a number sought to emphasise the responsibility of foreigners in the matter, as the purveyors of modern industry to China,¹⁰⁵ while others pointed out that the proposed reforms were mild in comparison with legislation existing in England and America¹⁰⁶ and were the least that could be expected if "...Bolshevism is to be destroyed and war is to be no more...".¹⁰⁷ More shrewdly, it was suggested that the legislation might curtail the drift of large families to the cities.¹⁰⁸

On the other hand, many letters were written as well by the opponents of reform, led by an individual who signed himself Shanghai-lander, whom the British Consul described as suffering from "...a kind of itch which compels him to write to the newspapers on every conceivable topic and every conceivable occasion...".¹⁰⁹ The burden of the opposition argument was that the legislation would bring the need for a Poor Law, and compulsory education, and possibly even the dole.¹¹⁰ This would impose an insupportable strain on 'financially broken Shanghai'.¹¹¹ It was envisaged that closure of the factories to children would drive thousands of them into prostitution,¹¹² while the reformers, safely back in England, would be able to shirk their responsibilities.¹¹³ What was considered to be the 'absurd level' of welfare in England in 1925 was roundly condemned.¹¹⁴ Some correspondents were genuinely concerned that the pace of reform might be too rapid. Although there were in all nearly sixty letters to the Herald, it is clear that while attracting attention the child labour issue had by no means elicited universal

sympathy from the foreign population in Shanghai, a state of affairs which was to some extent hidden from the reformers by their own enthusiasm for the rightness of their cause.

In Britain, some support for the child labour campaign had been forthcoming from The Times and The Manchester Guardian,¹¹⁵ but as might be expected it was The New Statesman which expressed the gravest concern at a situation in which employers were able to wring profit "...out of the bodies and souls of infants...".¹¹⁶ The difficulties in the way of reform, the paper observed, had all been cited and overcome in Britain's own history, and there was no reason why they should not be overcome also in Shanghai. When the campaign ultimately foundered, the New Statesman could not hide its sense of outrage.

"...the failure to get a quorum shows a deplorable callousness on the part of the foreign residents who enjoy the privileges of the Settlement and the protection of their national navies at Shanghai. And frankly, unless British manufacturers in China can give a better account of their labour conditions we do not think the British people will be disposed to do violence to its conscience and to dip into its pocket in order to secure their prerogatives."¹¹⁷

The columns of the New Statesman contained no subsequent reference to child labour in Shanghai, however, and the matter was apparently allowed to drop.

Other expressions of concern in Britain gave rise to public discussion of the issue, but only after both special meetings had failed to achieve a quorum, and the May Thirtieth shootings had placed China in the limelight. On June 25th, the General Council of the TUC and the National Executive of the Labour Party jointly passed a resolution urging implementation of the Child Labour Commission's recommendations in all the Treaty Ports of China, and a British initiative to end extra-territoriality.¹¹⁸ Also in June, the correspondence columns of the Times saw a heated debate on the child labour issue between Fenner Brockway and supporters of the Independent Labour Party on one hand,

and ex-Residents of Shanghai on the other, with accusations of 'nineteenth-century exploitation', and 'meddling' and 'Bolshevist tactics' being exchanged.¹¹⁹ The debate sparked interest in Shanghai itself, where some residents were moved to despatch a telegram to the ILP asserting that

"...labour conditions... have nothing whatever to do with the recent troubles, the root of which is Bolshevism, fertilised by mis-directed Western education...".¹²⁰

The Times itself, in a leading article on July 3rd, drew heavily on the recently published British White Paper, Command 2442, and noted that in the prevailing conditions in China the prospects for industrial reform were 'not hopeful'.¹²¹

Prior to May 30th, the question of labour conditions in China had attracted little interest in Parliament. With the renewed threat to British investment consequent upon the massive demonstrations in June, however, the Government was more receptive to some discussion of the current situation in China, and on June 13th, 17th and 18th the opposition Labour Party contrived to have the matter debated in the House of Commons. The issue of child labour featured prominently in the debate, Will Thorne opening on June 13th with the question

"Is it not a fact that the cause of all this trouble is in consequence of the beastly low wages paid to the employees, and the employment of young children?"¹²²

The position of the Government was that it had done all it could to promote the implementation of the recommendations of the Child Labour Commission, and the improvement of labour conditions generally, but that the May Thirtieth incident had intervened. The Government and British employers, broadly speaking, desired that conditions in British factories in the Settlement should be "...a model and an example to the rest of China...".¹²³

The debate extended on June 17th and 18th to embrace the constitution and functions of the Shanghai Municipal Council, but the Government's critics were not to be deterred from expressing their view that the cause of unrest in China was naked exploitation by the foreign powers. C.P. Trevelyan likened the May Thirtieth shootings to the Peterloo massacre, and asserted that it was not a natural British interest to develop markets for goods made with cheap labour in the Far East, with the result that "...adult workers are unemployed in Great Britain because small children are overworked till they drop asleep in Shanghai and elsewhere in China...".¹²⁴ It was fortuitous for the Government that they had on their back benches a former resident of Shanghai who, in the closing stages of the debate, got up to make a defence of absolute laissez-faire so impassioned and neanderthal as to make the Government's position seem progressive by comparison. This speaker claimed that women and children came out of the mills in Shanghai "...happy and laughing..."¹²⁵ and asserted that British employers

"...when they go out there bearing the White Man's burden, as they do, largely for the benefit of the workmen of this country by the business they create, are not going to stand for any conditions for which they would not stand themselves...I regard it as a slur on every white man who has ever been, or is in China, that it should be suggested for a moment that they are more callous or less humane than people at home."¹²⁶

The debate ended with a consensus, apart from this speaker, that everything possible should be done to ameliorate conditions of labour in China, especially in the International Settlement, but a suggestion that a TUC delegation be sent to China to investigate was rejected. It will be apparent, therefore, from this brief discussion that both in China and in Britain the press and public commitment to child labour reform was limited and transitory.

No further progress was made with legislation to restrict the use of child labour in the International Settlement, although some reports exist of improvements made on a voluntary basis.¹²⁷ The China Weekly Review observed in 1928 that as far as working conditions were concerned many enterprises appeared by then to be "...managed along Western lines...".¹²⁸ The International Labour Review was led to remark in 1932 that "...child labour in the ordinary sense (under 14) had disappeared from foreign enterprises...".¹²⁹ On the other hand, the Joint Committee of Women's Clubs in their submission to Justice Richard Feetham during the course of his review of the status of Shanghai in 1931 stated their belief that

"...conditions in factories, in the Settlement and its vicinity, as regards child labour have practically undergone no change since the Commission reported in 1924...".¹³⁰

In Labour Legislation in China, written in 1938, Augusta Wagner concluded that very little had been done in a practical way even by that late date to limit the employment of children in Shanghai.¹³¹ The only obvious improvement appears to have been the adoption of the central boiling system for cocoons in a number of silk filatures, which freed children from the worst evils of work in that industry.¹³² In all, therefore, it may be considered that the movement for the gradual reform through legislation of the use of child labour failed in its objective, and in retrospect the outlook for piecemeal industrial reform on a broader front must appear to have been altogether dim.

CHAPTER 8

The Theory and Practice of Industrial Welfare

Taken as a whole, the efforts of the Christian industrial reformers in China in the nineteen-twenties and 'thirties must be regarded as a significant output of energy for a group so few in number. If little of lasting value was apparently achieved, it may be argued that this was due to flaws in the reformers' understanding of the political realities, and contradictions within the theoretical basis for their work, rather than that it was the result of a low level of commitment. In this chapter, the thinking behind the industrial welfare movement will be considered through an examination of the theory and practice of the three principle Christian agencies involved, and these contradictions will be explored.

Prior to the First World War, the YMCA in China had confined its attention to the sons of the elite within socety, the children of the upper classes, and the emerging middle classes, whose power and influence in the new China would make them rewarding candidates for Christian evangelism. Until very recently, it had been this group which had been the principal concern of the Association in Britain, the United States and elsewhere. During the war, however, the movement as a whole expanded significantly its service to working people, probably motivated initially by a desire to contribute to the war effort. Facilities for education, recreation and health care were provided for workers and soldiers which, supplemented by religious instruction were seen as a means of bringing ordinary people 'closer to Christ', of increasing their commitment to Christianity. Service to Chinese labourers in France, at the same time rendered valuable assistance to the Allies by encouraging the docility of the workforce, and was a part of this work.'

After the war, the extension of service to industrial workers became an accepted feature of the YMCA programme, particularly in the United States, although the World's Committee of the Association did not appoint a 'Commission on Labour Problems' until 1927.¹ In contrast to developments within the YWCA, therefore, there was no central agency to co-ordinate and promote this work, and it tended to develop haphazardly from one country to another. In China, as has been noted above,² 'follow-up' work with the returned labourers was carried out in a number of centres between 1919 and 1922, and in due course it was felt that the YMCA could not refuse to help as well labourers who had not been to France. As David Yui, the Association's General Secretary, observed in 1921,

"We are anxious to extend our service to them. We deem it very important that, insofar as possible, we shall try to make this work permanent."³

Although the YMCA in China never formulated any definite set of principles to guide its industrial work, it is possible to discern certain underlying assumptions on the basis of which it went forward. The first was that the work should be "...a co-operative effort in which both employers and employees join...".⁴ It was expected that once initial suspicions had been laid to rest, employers would come forward to provide facilities to enable the YMCA to carry on its programme, and that for their part workers would not hesitate to take advantage of the programme and would advise others to do so. There was secondly the conviction that the YMCA could maintain the attitude of "...a neutral agency with the confidence of both sides, laborer and capitalist...".⁵ It was felt that as a Christian agency the Association had no particular axe to grind, and sought only to bring the theory and practice of Christ to the lives of ordinary men. A logical consequence of this, it was perceived, was that "...the Association should not take part in the discussion of questions that are issues between the employers and the employees but should in its program in the mill or factory confine itself

to questions that fall within the recognised province of the Association."⁶
It was finally reiterated that in all the Association's work with industrial labourers, "...the definite religious objective should be emphasised from the first...".⁷

From the beginning it was recognised that in involving itself with the plight of the urban worker, even if initially with the object of improving only his soul, the YMCA was about to 'tread on dangerous ground'.⁸ During the May Fourth Movement workers had begun to awaken to the power they could wield when they acted in unity, and it would have taken little acumen to predict that this power might be used with increasing frequency in future to try to improve the workers' appallingly low standard of living. Where they would stand in any such confrontation, or what they might do to avert it, was for YMCA officials a dilemma, as was described in an internal memorandum of early 1922 as an 'unsolved problem'.⁹

"Just what part the Association should take in helping to create better conditions for the laborer. How to do this work, be true to our conscientious convictions and at the same time keep on good terms with both labor and capital. It is very difficult and will be increasingly so not to identify ourselves with either one side or the other, and how to keep our building from being either the meeting place of the labor agitator on the one side or the recognised institutions of the capitalist on the other."¹⁰

Elaborating on this theme a year later, David Yui wrote,

"It is highly important clearly to define our course. Otherwise the YMCA would be exposed to serious misunderstanding. Capital may either suspect us as in league with labor or seek to use us as a palliative. Labor may either accuse us as the catspaw of capital or use us as a buffer-state against Capital.it is detrimental to our purpose to be misunderstood in any one of these ways...".¹¹

In fact the YMCA Industrial Department during the tenure of Thomas Tchou did move in the direction of undertaking several practical

projects which, if they had been enlarged upon might have gone some way towards improving workers' lives and defusing their growing anger. Tchou's 'social survey' of 1922 and his housing study and model village project of 1926 were steps towards this end. With his demise, however, these rather more tangible efforts towards improving workers' livelihood were not followed by other similar projects, and the YMCA's most notable contribution to workers' welfare became once again the provision of literacy classes, the extent of even these dwindling in the 1930's. It is remarkable that the Association appears to have had no particular philosophy of education other than a general belief that a worker who could read and write was likely to be more responsible and indeed more amenable to the teachings of Christ than one who could not. There seems to have been no attempt within the YMCA, as there was within the YWCA, to raise the consciousness of workers so that they might more effectively organise in pursuit of their own objectives.

The question of the class allegiance of reformers will be pursued more fully below, but one final and underlying consideration with respect to the YMCA's objectives in pursuing industrial work must be noted here. This was that the work might help to avert the possibility of revolution.

"Had we been able to go into Russia thirty years ago with our city and student program, had we been able to follow this ten years ago with an industrial and rural program, the history of the world would be different. How can we fail to do for China at this moment when it is as sure as fate that a failure to do and to do quickly may, and I feel will surely, lead to the repetition in China of what has happened in Russia."¹²

Taken at its most sincere, a statement like this represented a conviction that if, through the YMCA's intervention, workers could be made happier and the principles of Christian dealing could be introduced into the relations between labour and capital, then the ultimate

calamity of violent social upheaval could be avoided. It is important to recognise that some YMCA officials abhorred the prospect of revolution not so much because of the change it might bring to the social order, but because of the violence it would do to God's wish that there should be Christian goodwill between men. If the existing social order was bad, revolution was worse; the way forward was through the true 'Christianising' of society. For these men, the class basis of their observations could be completely overlooked.

For others, the fear of the social consequences of revolution was clearly paramount. The sentiment of these people was that industrial welfare work must be tolerated because...

"Improvement of the economic life of the people will help eliminate bandits and will help promote peace in the country."¹³

Undoubtedly in many YMCA officials, the Christian and the social reasons for fearing revolution reinforced one another.

It is interesting that, despite the fact that the YMCA was one of the three main Christian organisations the most worried about the path society would take, it made the smallest contribution towards the gradual reform of workers' lives.

As with the YMCA, the YWCA carried out no co-ordinated programme of service to working women before the end of the First World War. In contrast to the YMCA, however, the World's Committee of the YWCA had begun to take cognizance of the need for such a programme, and at its meeting in Berlin in 1910 had recognised that

"...present social and industrial conditions militate against the highest development of Christian womanhood..."¹⁴

and urged that its member Associations undertake 'study of the social and industrial problems of the day'.¹⁵ At a subsequent meeting at

Champery in France in 1920 the World's Committee made a firm commitment to get in touch with industrial women in far larger numbers through the establishment of a network of centres close to their places of work, asserting that

"...in all such centres self-government shall be developed to the fullest possible extent, and that social and economic education and training for citizenship shall form part of the programme, so that members may recognise their responsibilities and take their part in developing Christian ideals in their trade organisations and the life of the community."¹⁶

The Committee further unequivocally recognised the right of working women to organise "...to improve their status and voice their needs..."¹⁷ and endorsed a series of draft conventions and recommendations adopted at the first International Labour Conference in Washington in 1919.¹⁸ The World's YWCA set up a permanent Industrial Advisory Committee, and Mary Dingman was made its first Secretary. Thus it was that when the Chinese YWCA under Grace Coppock first committed itself in 1920 to developing an industrial programme, it was able to draw on the World's Committee for support and advice.

In due course there came to be three 'principles', or more properly objectives, which were to be the focus of attention in industrial work promoted by the World's Committee. These were expressed as follows:

- "1. The World's YWCA and a number of national associations have accepted the need of industrial standards and have pledged themselves to work for their adoption.
2. The Association recognises the principle of opportunities for all workers and education for a group that often has had no other real chance at education.
3. In promoting industrial work the World's YWCA recognises the need of developing leadership among industrial girls, so that they may themselves take an active part in working to bring about better

conditions in industry, Hence the program for industrial girls should be built with this aim in view." 19

These three areas of concern, it will be argued, came each in turn to be the principal emphasis of YWCA industrial work in China.

During the tenure of Agatha Harrison as Industrial Secretary of the Chinese YWCA from 1921 to 1923, and that of her immediate successor Mary Dingman in 1924 and 1925, much effort was concentrated upon a campaign to achieve acceptance for certain industrial standards. It will be recalled that shortly after her arrival in China Harrison rejected the option of direct but palliative work with industrial women in favour of action which, it was hoped, would bring legislation that would change their lives more fundamentally. The acceptance by the National Christian Conference in 1922 of the '3-fold labour standard',²⁰ and the agreement by the Shanghai Municipal Council in 1923 to appoint a commission to enquire into child labour were milestones in this campaign. The fact that no tangible changes resulted, that neither voluntary standards were adopted, nor newly legislated standards enforced, reflected not so much on the effort put forth, which was considerable, but more on the inertia of the forces - employers and government agencies - on which the YWCA was attempting to bring pressure to bear. The coup-de-grace for the campaign of the YWCA and the NCC to bring about legislated industrial reform really came with the failure of foreign ratepayers to turn out to approve the Shanghai Municipal Council's new child labour legislation in the spring of 1925. This defeat, coupled with the simultaneous explosion of political feeling over the May Thirtieth incident, illustrated plainly that there was insufficient support for legislated industrial reform and led the YWCA to adopt a new emphasis in its industrial programme.

After some hesitation the YWCA began in December 1926 to embark on 'direct' educational and welfare work with industrial women at its newly acquired house in Chapei. The Chapei experiment succumbed

to the political turbulence of 1927, but after a short interval it was succeeded by direct work at other centres in Shanghai, and later in Tientsin and Wusih. This new work gave expression to an increasing desire on the part of some Chinese YWCA officials to do something of immediate practical use to working women.²¹ Taking the longer view, Eleanor Hinder observed,

"Women workers are largely illiterate in China. Their only means of learning is by hearsay - how is it possible for them to understand the sweep of the social revolution, or the new forces loosed. Hence the Shanghai YWCA Industrial Secretaries...planned their Fall programme upon this new consideration."²²

The new emphasis was confirmed at the First Industrial Secretaries' Conference in Shanghai in August 1927.

Privately, however, some of the YWCA's more experienced industrial staff entertained nagging doubts about this turn of events. Worrying that piecemeal welfare work "...has so little direct outcome..."²³ Eleanor Hinder shortly before her departure from China in the spring of 1928 wrote to Mary Dingman that,

"The people who do the local work on the broad lines are finding, as I believe that they have now been found [sic], that they must be prepared for a long, patient, educational program, much of which is illiteracy work. For this in itself, I do not think I am particularly well suited."²⁴

For Lily Haass,

"...the whole thing raises the question whether you can put an association of a type calling for a certain degree of 'civilisation', material comfort and intellectual advancement, on a people who are still on a low economic plane. Answer please! To some of us who prefer to do a certain kind of advanced 'constructive' work it may bring a pretty definite choice as to whether we want to follow Chinese leadership into a different, to us non-associational type of work - or go home!"²⁵

It may be considered that the phase of direct educational and welfare work in and for itself lasted from about 1926 to the beginning of Cora Deng's tenure as chief Industrial Secretary of the YWCA in 1930.

In the third phase of YWCA industrial work, roughly from 1931 to the outbreak of war in 1937, a new dimension was added with the growing effort to cultivate a capacity for leadership among industrial girls, and indeed to develop among all working women a new understanding of the economic and political forces within society which reduced them to the circumstances in which they found themselves, and of the need to struggle collectively if they were to improve their lot. The realisation that such an effort was necessary, it has been suggested, was both a cause and an effect of greater grass roots involvement with working women; the more YWCA secretaries developed their contacts with industrial workers, the more they came to appreciate that many of the women themselves saw the solution to their problems in terms of organised collective action. The YWCA could provide them with the educational tools, and training in group activity which would help them to move ahead. There was now, therefore, a purpose to educational and other forms of 'direct' work, and the criticisms which Eleanor Hinder and Lily Haass made of this type of activity in the late 'twenties were now largely answered. Haass remained the chief assistant to Cora Deng until well after the beginning of the Pacific war, while Hinder in her new post with the Shanghai Municipal Council was consistently sympathetic to what the Association was trying to achieve. The commitment to the new policy was reinforced with the emergence of a consensus at the Third Industrial Secretaries' Conference in January 1933 that "...the development of class consciousness is fundamental to the improvement of workers' conditions...".²⁶ The conference urged, inter alia, that

"Effort should be made to unite other groups, especially students and professional women, in the struggle for the betterment of workers' conditions."²⁷

These, then, are the three phases of YWCA industrial work in China in peacetime, and they may be seen broadly to correspond with what the World's Committee in 1939 considered to be the three areas of emphasis in Association industrial work as a whole, though it may well be that outside China the third principle, that of 'developing leadership', did not develop to the point to which it did in China. Further, it should be noted that a change in emphasis did not mean that work which had previously been of concern was dropped ; rather the effect was cumulative, so that the Association retained its concern for the promotion of industrial standards and for the provision of classes in literacy and health care, when it had come to regard the cultivation of a new consciousness among working women as its most important task. As will be argued below, the work evolved in nature and in scope as practice, experience in the field, showed Association secretaries what needed to be done.

For the YWCA, therefore, the question which tormented the YMCA, of whether or not to become involved in efforts to improve the lives of working people, simply did not exist. The YWCA was from the beginning unequivocally committed to action on their behalf, Nor did YWCA Industrial Secretaries seem particularly worried either from the religious or from the social point of view about the prospect of revolution, that spectre that haunted their counterparts in the YMCA; indeed, as will be noted, some among them might have gone so far as to welcome it.²⁸ The judgment made in 1923 by the prominent American Bishop Francis McConnell, proved prophetic:

"So far as the direct action of Christian forces on the Chinese industrial situation is concerned, I think I would give first place to the Young Women's Christian Association. The leaders of this organisation seem to know the facts at first hand, especially as they affect the women and children workers; they seem also to be planning ahead for changes not yet at hand; they seem to understand how deeply the faults of capitalism lie embedded in the system as such, and there appears also a note of boldness

in their utterances which is unmistakable in its implications." 29

The approach of the organised Christian Church in China, represented by the National Christian Council, to industrial problems fell somewhere between that of the YMCA and that of the YWCA. As has been noted, an increased awareness of economic problems generally and of the complexities of modern industrial life in particular came to Church bodies in England, America and elsewhere after the First World War, and this new concern was reflected in a series of resolutions and conferences calling for a thorough Christianising of all relations in society, including those in the economic sphere.³⁰

The rationale for involvement of the Church in efforts to improve the lives of working people was perhaps expressed most clearly at the meeting of the International Missionary Council in Jerusalem in 1928, at which the 'industrial question' was given prominent consideration. Central to the thinking of industrial reformers within the Church was the belief that a reasonable level of material well-being was necessary to the growth and vitality of the spirit. Reinforcing this were imperatives, rooted in the teaching of Christ, with respect to the sanctity of personality, brotherhood, and corporate responsibility within society. Respect for personality meant that,

"...any form of economic organisation which involves the treatment of men primarily as instruments of production or which sacrifices the opportunity of full personal development which should be the right of every child, is evidently anti-Christian."³¹

Christ's teaching as to the need for brotherhood

"...would seem to preclude such struggle for gain or self-advancement as snatches opportunities for personal success at the expense of the community or of its weaker members, and the organisation of economic life primarily with a view to the enrichment of individuals."³²

A result of the injunction to accept responsibility for one's fellows was that

"...a Christian society is under an obligation to use every means in its power to bring within the reach of all its members the material, as well as the ethical conditions of spiritual growth...".³³

The New Testament called for social as well as individual regeneration, a fact long overlooked by the established Church, and it was the duty of Christians "...to speak and work fearlessly against social and economic injustice."³⁴

Thinking along these lines was undoubtedly responsible for the impetus to industrial reform among the Churches in China in the early 'twenties. This is reflected in the proceedings of the 1922 National Christian Conference, with respect to 'the Church and Industry', though it will be argued that there was also a measure of 'social alarm' animating the delegates.³⁵ This Christian commitment is given expression too in the words and deeds of Henry Hodgkin, Grace Coppock and the few others most directly involved in raising the industrial issue, and was urged upon the broader Christian community by Sherwood Eddy during his visit to China in the winter of 1922/3. Eddy called for a Christian industrial policy that would be 'spiritual and human', 'practical, not visionary', 'non-partisan and impartial, not taking sides for employers or employees, for capital or labor', but 'thoroughgoing, uncompromising and fearless on moral issues'.³⁶ Eddy envisaged a two-pronged attack on industrial problems, comprising both an attempt to educate community leaders to appreciate the need for reform, and direct welfare work among the poor. The former, he emphasised, was much the more important.

In fact, during the first phase of its existence the Industrial Commission of the National Christian Council did address itself primarily to people of influence within society, and in a flurry of activity that sometimes paralleled, sometimes was entwined with that of the

YWCA, campaigned for legislation on the basis of the 'three-fold standard' adopted by the NCC in 1922, gathered information, and generally sought to promote understanding among missionaries and the literate public of the plight of the industrial worker. This early period may be considered to have come to an end with the staging of the Conference on Christianising Economic Relations in August 1927, the mounting of which was the more remarkable a feat on the part of Lily Haass because it came at a time of great political uncertainty, when the tide of influential opinion had begun to swing against concessions and reform.³⁷

Subsequent to the conference, in a second phase lasting from the autumn of 1927 until early 1930, the Industrial Commission lapsed into relative inactivity. The disenchantment of its staff grew as the Kuomintang showed itself more and more repressive towards organised labour, and the prospects for the old style 'educational' work seemed to dim. Then too, at its meeting in the spring of 1929, the re-organised National Christian Council embarked upon a five year programme of evangelism, in which a concern for industrial welfare was likely to play a very minor part. In this period, therefore, when the YWCA resorted to 'direct' work with industrial women out of which would emerge its more structured approach of the 1930's, the NCC may be said to have had no practical industrial policy at all.

Given new leadership, however, the fortunes of the NCC's Industrial Commission revived in 1930, showing once again that a determined individual could sometimes move ahead even in spite of his constituency. In organising the Conference on the People's Livelihood, held in February 1931, J.B. Tayler was effectively resurrecting the NCC's earlier policy of appealing to people of influence to take cognizance of the condition of workers in agriculture and industry, and to take positive steps to improve it. It has been suggested, though, that in retrospect the Conference constituted a retreat into formalism.

By 1931 the logic of legislated reform had reached its final stage within the context of the existing society. Legislation was enacted, but it stopped short of enforcement. Further study was undertaken, but it did not lead to action. With the ritual acceptance by the authorities of the need for improved conditions, the Christians had won a Pyrrhic victory; with no clear objective left on which to focus, such public interest as there had been in the plight of workers rapidly declined, and actual reform in the lives of working people was further away than ever.

It is unlikely that J.B. Tayler would have recognised such a turning point in the movement for reform, but it is not insignificant that he himself had begun to consider an entirely new approach to the solution of China's social and economic problems, based on the thought that

"...A Christian conception of industry cannot stop short, as an ultimate ideal, of a co-operative commonwealth, using the gifts of God in nature for the highest measure of human welfare, the richest life of the community as a whole." 38

All of Tayler's subsequent work on industry, for the NCC and for the North China Industrial Service Union, was concerned with promoting the application of modern techniques and methods of organisation to handicraft industry to create industrial co-operatives which in large measure would be the inspiration for the vast network of similar enterprises established under the auspices of Indusco during the war. Such was the provision ultimately for raising the consciousness of workers under the plan, and for narrowing the gap between city and countryside, that had the NCC continued to support Tayler in his work, which they did not, this would have constituted an initiative which would have paralleled in the boldness of its conception the growing commitment of the YWCA to class struggle among industrial women. As it was, however, the NCC seemed to have lost interest in anything which was

peripheral to its five year campaign of evangelism, and what might have been the fourth and most productive phase in its industrial work was aborted with the departure of Tayler from the Council in the summer of 1932.

It will be seen from this brief summary that industrial welfare work supported by the National Christian Council, despite fluctuations in its intensity, was essentially directed towards influencing people in authority, whether in government or industry, to initiate reform. Other activities such as the gathering of information and the conduct of publicity campaigns were subsidiary to this overriding objective. The NCC did not, at any time, undertake 'direct' educational or welfare work among the workers themselves, leaving this to the other Christian agencies. Furthermore, when the apparently tangible goal of industrial legislation had been achieved in the early 'thirties the NCC appeared to lose interest and, no doubt under the influence of its constituent churches, turned to the task of bolstering the sagging membership in the Chinese Christian communion.

While the initiators of the NCC's industrial work professed a desire to transform society, and indeed did take the steps described to try to improve the lot of working people, they and their successors sought throughout to steer a course 'between labour and capital'. As with the YMCA, it is possible to see a pervading anxiety about revolution behind their Christian concern, expressed at the 1922 conference in the form of a warning:

"If we do not make any provision for meeting this oncoming problem now the resulting strife will be worse than anything in the West, and the whole world will be affected." 39

This motif is repeated in the writings of Henry Hodgkin, Sherwood Eddy and others. Given this perception, it will be argued below that it simply was not possible for the Church to be poised between labour and capital. It took the exceptional observer, however, to see that,

"The Church itself is for the most part in the hands of the enemy.

The economic control of the world, in a very real sense, rests in Wall Street, and as missionaries we are dependent for support upon that force which holds the Chinese people in bondage." 40

From the narrative, and from the brief outline of the reformers' objectives above, it will become apparent that there were certain contradictions inherent in the Christian movement for the reform of industry, so that the movement as originally conceived contained within itself the seeds of its own failure. Furthermore, the movement was beset by a number of practical problems which were in part a reflection of conceptual difficulties. These contradictions and problems will now be considered.

A first criticism that might be made of the industrial reform movement is one that might be applied to all efforts at philanthropy - that they are essentially paternalistic. The object of each of the Christian agencies was to help the working people move towards lives of greater dignity, in the case of the YMCA, primarily spiritual dignity, and in the cases of the YWCA and the NCC both material and spiritual dignity. And yet a prerequisite of dignity would seem to be independence, not only as much as possible of the economic forces operating within society, but also of the help of philanthropic agencies. With the consciousness of workers rising through bitter experience and through such education as could be obtained, the recognition among them of the need for independence and self-directed struggle could be expected to grow: from the workers' point of view there is that between the means - help offered from above - and the end - independence and dignity; for the Christian agencies there was the dilemma that, to the extent that they truly succeeded in helping workers, they were likely to lose control over them.

The YMCA did not recognise this dilemma. Its 'direct' work with factory hands was one-dimensional, consisting largely of literacy classes, bible study, and one or two practical projects such as the Model Village. The work never really developed to the point at which more fundamental questions would be asked, and YMCA leadership would be in jeopardy. The NCC in its industrial work concentrated its attention, like the Jesuits, on people of influence. Its work therefore, though still 'on behalf' of working people, was for the most part at one remove from them. Only the YWCA, in the third phase of its industrial work under Cora Deng, came to realise that if working people were truly to grow in stature, they had to be helped to stand on their own feet. Ultimately, this meant 'letting go', and the attendant possibility that the YWCA would become superfluous.

In the broader context, Christian industrial work in China was merely an extension of a concern for the poor long professed by the Church in Europe and elsewhere. Times had changed, however. In the words of Zung Wei-tsung,

"It is true that the Church is ever ready to do any kind of charitable work, but the cry of these exploited poor is, 'We want no charity - we want justice!'" 41

A second contradiction inherent in the Christian campaign for the reform of industry concerns the class and national allegiance of the reformers. It is at this stage perhaps to state the obvious that the great majority of those people responsible for the reform movement were both foreigners and middle class, but the question then remains as to what the implications of this state of affairs were for the nature of the work they were trying to undertake.

To take first the question of class, it will be apparent that the personnel involved were without exception from relatively privileged backgrounds. In the NCC, Henry Hodgkin was an established missionary,

and sprang from a prominent British Quaker family. J.B. Tayler, also British, was a trained chemist, turned economist, with degrees from the University of Liverpool and from the London School of Economics.⁴² Though little information exists about Gideon Chen, he would appear to have had a university education, and from his name would seem to have come from a Chinese Christian family. In the YWCA, backgrounds are somewhat more obscure. Agatha Harrison's father appears to have been a clergyman, however, while she herself had training in social welfare at the Froebel Institute in London. Lily Haass and Mary Dingman, both American, had long periods of service with the YWCA, probably came from relatively well-placed families and may well have had some higher education, particularly Dingman, who occupied an important post in the Association's World's Committee. Eleanor Hinder's background is not clear, though from her writing she would appear to have been well educated; she had prior training in industrial welfare in her native Australia before coming to China. Cora Deng was recruited to industrial work from within the YWCA, suggesting that she too must have come from a family in which a certain measure of education and comfort was taken for granted. Junior secretaries who helped these women carry out their programme were almost certainly also middle class, as so much of it consisted of the provision of education and leadership.

In the YMCA, Thomas Tchou was multi-lingual, held a degree from the University of Glasgow and had had periods of study elsewhere. His superiors, mostly American men such as W.W. Lockwood and E.E. Barnett, and in the United States E.C. Jenkins, were well established in the missionary movement and to judge by their correspondence held an almost uniform belief about the proper ordering of society. Only John Nipps seemed, by dint of his background and his manner, not to fit, and his career in industrial work was short.

None of the principal reformers, then, had any direct experience of factory work except as observers. Fundamentally, though to a greater or lesser degree, their tastes and instincts aligned them with those people in industry and government who were responsible for conditions being what they were. Only as a result of long involvement and considerable mental effort did certain of the reformers, notably in the YWCA, come to identify more closely with labour than with management. The relationship between the various Christian agencies and the industrial employers will be considered more fully below.

One interesting consequence of the middle class perspective of the reformers was the sense of fellow feeling some of them had with the student movement. The YWCA in particular sought to coax students into supporting the cause of industrial workers. The seminar on industry at the YWCA's 'Student Workers' Conference' in November 1922, noted above,⁴³ was typical of the Association's attempts to reach students in its own constituency. Inter alia students were urged to "...oppose careless thinking and speaking such as -

'Children better off in the factory than at home'
Would you let your own child be in the factory?

'They are used to long hours'
Point out different conditions.

'Paid agitators causing restlessness'
Get in touch with agitators; give them credit for caring; we too are paid.

'Students are radical'
They are thinking in terms of humanity. "⁴⁴

At the 'Third Conference of Industrial Secretaries' held under the supervision of Cora Deng in January 1933 a variety of methods was suggested for expanding contacts between students and workers, among which was "...assistance to students in securing jobs in factories in vacations, so they may experience the life of a modern machine operator...".⁴⁵ Subsequent to the conference a series of 'student-industrial institutes'

appears to have been held by the YWCA in Shanghai, to bring together students and workers for discussion.⁴⁶ The campaign also reached down to girls in high school.

"We started with a poster showing a girl asking why she has to work at night while other children are sound asleep."⁴⁷

The Association's faith in students was not entirely misplaced, for though most students sprang from the middle class, many of them felt as yet no particular responsibility to it, and were in many cases animated by a desire to build a new China in which existing social evils and foreign interference would be eliminated. If the YWCA's appeal to students was not a great success, this may in part have been because in the 'twenties the orientation of the Association's industrial programme was still very paternal, whereas by the 'thirties, when the Association was doing its best work, the stigma attached to Christian organisations had become too powerful a deterrent, and students, if they were interested at all, were looking to more radical solutions.

Apart from being middle class in origin, many of the reformers were foreigners; this was a problem with several dimensions to it. There was first of all the question of whether individuals from outside China, with no matter how much goodwill, could effectively act to advance the cause of Chinese working people in the face of opposition from Chinese authorities and management, and sometimes from their own governments and capitalists. As in the case of class, national identity was a hurdle which was overcome more successfully by some organisations and individuals than by others.

Officials of the YWCA appear to have been most successful in identifying the cause of Chinese working women as their own. This may in part have been because they were drawn from several different countries - Harrison from Britain, Haass and Dingman from the United States, Hinder from Australia - and perhaps also because some of the

problems confronting women transcended class and national boundaries. What united these women was China, and the very struggle they faced, rather than the sense of being exiles from a common country of origin. In their dealings with employers, the Shanghai Municipal Council and other authorities, YWCA officials showed a determination which little countenanced national allegiance. If they may have suffered some handicap in their approaches to Chinese employers, or in their 'direct' work among factory women because of their nationality, this difficulty was largely resolved by the transition to Chinese leadership in the industrial programme in the 1930's.

Within the National Christian Council, Hodgkin and Tayler, both from Britain, had both been in China long enough to have lost any particular national perspective, and their identification might more nearly be termed a cultural one, with the progress of the Christian movement in China. This was perhaps more the case with Hodgkin than with Tayler, whose academic affiliations and training in economics placed his interest in an alternative economic strategy somewhat above his concern for the spread of Christianity. NCC officials therefore had little difficulty in identifying with Chinese Christians, but that they should associate so closely with this group of Chinese may in itself have been an impediment to their developing and carrying out a useful industrial programme. An exception to this was Lily Haass, under whose supervision the NCC's Conference on Christianising Economic Relations was held in 1927, but who was of course from the YWCA.

It is with the YMCA that the issue of nationality becomes most troublesome. While the prime mover of YMCA industrial work was a Chinese, Thomas Tchou, it will have been apparent that from the beginning the work was quite closely supervised by older, foreign staff. These men, among them E.E. Barnett, William Lockwood, and for a time Fletcher Brockman, were all American, and appear to have been directly responsible to other Americans, notably E.C. Jenkins and later Charles Herschleb, on the International Committee of the YMCA.

in New York. The International Committee was not equivalent to the YMCA's World's Committee, based in London and later in Geneva, but rather was the co-ordinating body for the foreign mission activity of the American and Canadian YMCA's. The YMCA's own World's Committee, based in London, seems at this time to have had very little power, which is probably a reflection of the fact that most of the money for the Association's mission work came from the United States.

In these circumstances it is hard to escape the impression that the YMCA's industrial programme was, and was regarded as, a charitable work undertaken by Americans on behalf of the Chinese, an impression confirmed by the tone of the correspondence between the Association's senior secretaries in China and their counterparts on the International Committee in the United States. It is not unlikely that the tension which developed between Thomas Tchou and G.T. Schwenning in 1926 contributing to the latter's decision to resign, was partly due to Tchou's resentment of interference by a man who had, after all, been drafted to China by the International Committee.⁴⁸ Tchou's own subsequent resignation and the effective collapse of the Association's industrial programme was an indirect repercussion of this lack of sensitivity. It is further interesting to note, in the light of the controversy about special privileges attaching to mission property, that the YMCA apparently counted on support from the US Government in the event of any violation of its property by Chinese soldiers.⁴⁹ Perhaps the clearest indication of where the foreign staff's national sentiments lay, however, comes with the invasion of Shanghai by Nationalist forces in the early spring of 1927. At this time, anxiety within the Association about the possible collapse of the social order in China and an end to extra-territoriality reached its highest point, moving one senior official to write home,

"We are having martial times in Shanghai, as you have heard. To-day I was thrilled to see twelve hundred American marines march through the city. Their splendid bearing and energetic step and fine form filled me with pride and emotion. They marched like soldiers."⁵⁰

A more insidious form of national chauvinism was the suggestion, sometimes heard, that Chinese were less interested than foreigners in promoting industrial reform. Even officials of the YWCA were not immune to a nagging doubt about the commitment of their Chinese colleagues to industrial work.⁵¹ In fact, however, there is no evidence to suggest that Chinese, as Chinese, were less enthusiastic in their promotion of industrial welfare, as the very significant contributions made by Thomas Tchou, Cora Deng, and in the NCC Gideon Chen will testify. Where some reticence is noticeable is in the Chinese Christian constituency, and especially among pastors. Within the National Christian Council, it does appear that gradual sinicization coincided with a growing emphasis in the Church on evangelism, and that the Chinese clergy were in fact little interested in the plight of factory workers.⁵²

One final aspect of this question of national allegiance was the attitude of reformers to the thorny issue of extra-territoriality. Early in the history of the reform movement Zung Wei-tzung had complained,

"Without paying the least regard to the factory laws in their own countries, many of the foreign employers come out here and do what they please. Undoubtedly they find this country an actual 'land of the free'. They rule over thousands of wretched 'hands' - just like ancient despots - with the sole purpose of making money."⁵³

The feeling among Chinese reformers was that extra-territorial privilege which protected foreign factories in the Treaty Ports enabled foreign employers, and indeed many Chinese employers, to treat their workers in a way which would be unthinkable, and often illegal, in the United States, Britain, and many of the countries of Europe. Whether the working conditions of workers overseas were in fact very much better than those endured by their Chinese counterparts is not really the point. Chinese reformers had been led to believe that they were, ironically, in large part by their foreign colleagues. As the various pieces of Chinese legislation designed to set standards for working conditions were put forward - the Peking Factory Regulations of 1923,

the Kiangsu provincial ordinance of 1924, the factory laws of the Nanking government of 1929 - the resentment of Chinese reformers grew as it became apparent that extra-territoriality would prevent any of the legislation from being enforced on factories in the Treaty Ports, and especially in Shanghai. Again, the fact that the authorities concerned seem in retrospect to have had not the slightest intention of enforcing the legislation anywhere in China is beside the point. The gulf between the Chinese reformers on this issue, and their foreign colleagues, who were at best ambivalent, grew.

The debate over extra-territoriality insinuated itself into attempts to bring about legislated reform. During the child labour campaign, it will be recalled, efforts to have the Municipal Council of the International Settlement introduce legislation to restrict the use of child labour were subject to growing criticism from Chinese who opposed any extension of the Council's power. Zung Wei-tsung was one of these.⁵⁴ The events of early 1927 raised hopes that the whole system of extra-territoriality might be done away with, and the resolution passed at the Conference on Christianizing Economic Relations that year, already noted, urging delegates to "... join in patriotic movements for freedom and justice to the workers, to secure economic freedom for China, and to bring an end to all forms of economic exploitation..."⁵⁵ was a thinly veiled call for an end to special privilege. This appeal was made more explicit at the Conference on the People's livelihood in 1931, when delegates urged the International Labour Organisation and the Chinese Government to

"...cooperate... in taking steps to the end that certain countries whose nationals now enjoy the privileges of extra-territorial jurisdiction or similar privileges in China order their nationals to submit themselves and their industrial and commercial undertakings to the administration of the labor laws by the Chinese Government."⁵⁶

As has already been observed, the International Labour Office

did become involved as an intermediary in protracted negotiations designed to enable the Nanking Government's factory laws to be applied in the International Settlement, but with no positive result.⁵⁷ Indeed, in time the issue of extra-territoriality and the inability of the Chinese Government to apply its laws in territory under the control of the foreign powers seems to have been used as an excuse for not applying factory law at all, and there can be little doubt that the argument that they would suffer from unfair competition if they were subject to constraints while their foreign competitors were not, was pressed for all it was worth by Chinese employers.

The reactions of foreign industrial reformers to the growing desire of Chinese for the abolition of extra-territoriality were varied, and by no means free of contradictions. Perhaps most sympathetic were officials in the YWCA, though even these women, while protesting the indignity that extra-territorial jurisdiction imposed upon Chinese, nonetheless enjoyed the special protection accorded to all foreigners in times of crisis.⁵⁸ Within the missionary movement, foreigners were divided in their feelings about extra-territoriality, their desire to support their Chinese colleagues in arguing for its abolition competing with anxiety about what the future might hold for foreign missionaries in China after its discontinuation. As the Church in China was sinicized, however, its ambivalence disappeared, and Chinese Christians, lay and clergy, generally supported the Government's demand that the system should be brought to an end.⁵⁹ Most foreigners in the YMCA, for their part, probably would not have argued for the retention of extra-territoriality, but seem not to have discussed the issue very much, and would have been most unlikely to make any public statements critical of the status quo. As has been noted, the strength of national feeling of some Association officials was such that they would probably have been quite unsympathetic to any diminution of foreign influence in China. Extra-territoriality would remain an unsolved problem throughout the period of the movement for industrial reform.

It will be apparent, therefore, that the foreign nationality of

many reformers, and issues stemming from the conflict of interests between China and the foreign powers further complicated the task facing Christian industrial reformers, and reduced the chances that their efforts would bear very much fruit.

At the heart of the reform movement as originally conceived was a belief that Christian welfare workers in industry could constitute a neutral buffer between labour and management. This third and most important contradiction will now be explored.

The conceptual difficulty inherent in this idea will become clearer if the relations of each of the Christian agencies are examined with industrial employers on one hand, and with labour and the unions on the other.

From the outset, the YMCA maintained a very close liaison with employers, initially entering some factories to begin welfare work specifically at their invitation. It will be recalled that in 1920 YMCA officials had begun to offer literacy classes, bible study, and entertainment actually on the premises of seven factories in Shanghai.⁶⁰ The rationale for this and similar initiatives is given in the Annual Report of the Chinese YMCA for 1921:

"Among the vigorous new movements in China is a tendency towards organisation among labour in many different trades. Some of these are based upon the old guild system: - they are constructive and promising. Others are so radical as to give cause for alarm. At the same time there is a spirit of benevolent paternalism among employers of labour who in several cases have called upon the Association for guidance or co-operation in developing constructive plans of helpfulness to laborers." ⁶¹

YMCA officials attempted to develop a personal contact with employers, and met them from time to time to discuss their plans.

The spirit of this liaison is caught rather well in the record of one such meeting, extracts of which are reproduced below. Present at the discussion were Shy Yung-ting, 'head of cotton mills', a Mr. Woo, 'General Manager Hanyang Iron Works', a Mr. Wang, 'General Manager Yangtze Engineering Works', and Fletcher Brockman of the YMCA.

" Shu: Confucius emphasised the fact that no society can be built up in a stable way without morality.

Good influences should be put alongside a man to make him grow properly and the YMCA is one of the cultivating influences.

Woo: Mr. Brockman has brought to us a plan of putting the YMCA in between the laborer and the capitalist. They know about these strikes in the West; pretty soon they will wonder why they are not doing the same; there is hope that the YMCA can add to their knowledge and let them understand that they cannot take the place of capital.

Wang: I promote a man, raise him to a dollar a day; then he says, I am a different man... I see then that I have practically trained other people's weapons to kill me.

Woo: The YMCA will help to create circumstances so that such things will not happen in your place.

I have seen people say, Well, tomorrow we don't have much work, and so at night they dissipate and every Monday is a blue Monday. Concerns would be glad if the YMCA would provide beneficial intellectual and other assistance to the laborers.

Brockman: Your man will come back a better man if he comes back having recreated rather than having gambled, etc. After armistice we had in one month 12,000,000 American soldiers participating in games. We spent more than \$10,000,000 in one year on moving pictures with an attendance of twelve or fifteen million a month. We discovered every sort of means to use up that desire for activity in a way that would do them some good.

Woo: ... I often look upon morality from the physical point of view."⁶²

The evidence suggests that prominent employers supported the YMCA's industrial programme through both contributions of cash, and of buildings in which to carry out the work,⁶³ while it would appear that business was well represented on the Association's National Executive Committee, which had the responsibility of supervising the broad lines of work, and on the various 'Industrial Committees' which exercised a similar supervisory function over the work of 'Industrial Departments' in local centres.⁶⁴ Money for the support of the YMCA programme as a whole came regularly from the International Committee of the Association in New York⁶⁵ - indeed without these funds the YMCA operation in China could hardly have existed - and this imposed planning constraints on the Association's administration in China.⁶⁶

The fact was that much of the American YMCA's support was drawn from among the business community, whose enthusiasm for experiments in industrial welfare was slow to develop. John D. Rockefeller, whose extraordinary wealth set him free from common anxiety about success or failure in business, was the exception that proved the rule. Thus, the YMCA and certain elements of the Chinese business community, if not completely one and the same, certainly co-operated closely in the development of the Association's industrial programme. It is therefore less surprising that when the threat of working class militancy that had spawned the experiment seemed to have passed, towards the end of the 'twenties, the YMCA's interest in industrial welfare declined and the programme became in effect a dead letter.

Contacts between the YMCA and organised labour, on the other hand, seem to have been quite limited. While Charles Shedd in Wuhan noted that he was "...digging in to get contact with labor groups..."⁶⁷ in 1922, and Thomas Tchou addressed a mass gathering of 1400 workers

in Chefoo in 1923,⁶⁸ and expressed in 1924 a strong desire to begin work in co-operation with unions in Canton to help "...build up the moral and intellectual foundation on which all healthy movements must rest...",⁶⁹ surviving records give no indication that there were any joint projects, or even that there was any significant dialogue, with any part of the labour movement. Workers were, with justification, suspicious of an organisation that seemed so closely identified with their employers.

This sentiment is revealed during two confrontations between workers and a local YMCA Industrial Secretary. On the occasion of a strike in 1925 at a cotton mill in Chengchow where the Association had begun industrial work some years earlier,

"...one of the first things the strikers did was to come over to the 'Y' and demand possession saying that it had been built for them and it was theirs."⁷⁰

The Secretary was evidently able by quick thinking to avert occupation of the Association building. On a subsequent occasion representatives from the local Labour Federation demanded the use of the building, which was within the grounds of the mill, for a Provincial Labour Conference. The YMCA Secretary agreed, but not without having first secretly consulted the mill owners to obtain their approval. The workers then insisted that the Secretary address the conference on 'the attitude of the YMCA toward the Labour Unions'. Reluctantly, he did so, "...for ... the fat was in the fire and the 'Y's future was at stake..."⁷¹ According to the Secretary, the YMCA was 'non-partisan', and provided the labour movement were not 'dominated from Moscow', and "...if the unions are good...", then the Association could help them, 'especially in character education'.⁷² On this occasion, the fifty-five delegates seem to have been satisfied with the explanation, but more generally organised labour probably regarded the YMCA with indifference or hostility.

Compounding the problem was a division within the Association between those staff members, generally younger men, who were prepared to accept and if possible work with the labour movement, up to a point, and the older foreign staff members, whose patience with the unions was much more limited. In the former category were John Nipps, who saw the unions as a natural response to 'an un-Christian system',⁷³ Thomas Tchou, who sought to emphasise the Chinese - as opposed to Russian - origins of the labour movement,⁷⁴ and Y. L. Lee of Canton who, writing in 1928, observed that the movement had in the previous two years "...done more good than harm to the workers..."⁷⁵ These views must be contrasted with those of E. E. Barnett, who wrote in May 1927 that,

"Undoubtedly...large sections of the labor movement have fallen into the hands of extremists."⁷⁶

and E. H. Lockwood, who wrote that until the coup against the Communists in Canton in December 1927,

"...labor leaders, drunk with new power, had employers at their mercy."⁷⁷

As the younger men active in industrial work either left or were dismissed from the Association, it may be supposed that the hope for any real contact between the Association and the unions was accordingly diminished.

The YWCA pursued a course in its relations with employers and its attitude towards the labour movement significantly different from that followed by its male equivalent. A preliminary survey of factory conditions in and about Shanghai led the YWCA's first Industrial Secretary, Agatha Harrison, to the conclusion that the Association should "...refuse to embark on what is called an 'industrial program' of work OUTSIDE the factory as long as such conditions prevail INSIDE..."⁷⁸ It will be recalled that the Association gave its energy instead to a campaign

intended to create a climate of opinion favourable to the passage of industrial legislation. An important part of this campaign was the attempt to persuade factory owners to undertake reforms voluntarily within their factories. It had been hoped that a more thorough recognition of the need for reform in industry might be achieved in China than had so far been achieved in the West, for

"...it is easier for people for people to see the evils of child labour than it is the evils of taking money from firms that are denying to their workers real democracy in industry. It is easier to see the evils of the twelve hour day than it is to see that perhaps our whole industry, which is organised for profits rather than service, is un-Christian." 79

Harrison's struggle to enlist the support of employers for labour standards has been considered in some detail above;⁸⁰ it was a crusade that left her, as she once remarked, 'literally battered'.⁸¹ She and her successor, Mary Dingman, were obliged to negotiate with men who resented their interference, both for its own sake, and because they were women. They had to cajole and push the employers forward very much against their will, while appearing in public to present a common front with them in support of reform. In doing this, they sought to emphasise not the 'efficiency motive', which might have had some appeal, but the need for a just and Christian society, a concept as alien to the mill owner as it must have been to his labourer.⁸²

That all this effort should result in little voluntary improvement and, in practical terms, no legislated reform at all, even to restrict the use of child labour in the International Settlement, must have been both a bitter experience and a lesson. The cumulative wisdom of the YWCA in this matter henceforth proscribed any serious overtures to employers. When the Association began its own 'direct' work among industrial women in 1926, it took care never to carry on its programme in premises owned or donated by management.⁸³ At the time of the

uprising in Shanghai in 1927 YWCA industrial secretaries saw the disturbances in a new and different light. Lily Haas wrote,

"Perhaps in Europe and America the YWCA does not question the capitalistic order; here in China we must - God be praised! People may question the work of the Left Wing, but they are stirring up thinking in this respect in a way that the Christian Church never has."⁸⁴

By 1933 any hope that capitalism in China might reform itself of its own accord was eroded completely. It was the consensus of delegates to the Association's Third Industrial Secretaries Conference that year that

"...employers will not try to achieve industrial democracy. In many cases too, they do not desire workers' education, and approve of us only because they think we are harmless. ...as to how much time should be spent in making contacts with employers... on the whole it was agreed that men's groups would be able to accomplish more than the YWCA in this field."⁸⁵

The YWCA's commitment to labour grew as its disenchantment with employers increased. In principle, the Association's industrial workers had always supported the idea that working people should be free to organise themselves, a principle endorsed by the World's Committee of the Association at Champery in 1920. In practice, however, Agatha Harrison's decision to press ahead with the campaign for legislation meant that little effort was made in the early years to identify or get in touch with any of the labour unions, despite the fact that at one point, in connection with the child labour campaign, it was suggested that this might be helpful.⁸⁶ Only after the collapse of the campaign in 1925 was this question pursued, Lily Haas having returned from furlough in the autumn, giving expression to

"...a stronger conviction...that one of our immediate

tasks is to get in touch with labor. I see no other way of spiritualising the labor movement, as it were than by first-hand contact with it."⁸⁷

In the event, Haas was soon to begin her period of service with the NCC, and the matter was left to Eleanor Hinder to follow up on her arrival in China early in 1926. Hinder apparently lost no time about it, and claimed to have obtained 'first touch with the workers' organisations'⁸⁸ in March of that year. She had brought with her 'credentials', perhaps a letter of testimonial, from the labour movement in her native Australia, and was "...delighted to have one of the leaders say...that 'the only workers who had seen fit to hold out a helping hand to the workers of China had been the Russians; did the Australians mean to help?'"⁸⁹ Whom she met on this occasion, and what took place must remain a mystery, but whatever dialogue there was must have been extremely tentative. Hinder remarks elsewhere that the labour movement was 'difficult enough to find',⁹⁰ but was apparently put in touch with some prominent union members through the good offices of Colonel l'Estrange Malone, the former British Independent Labour Party MP, who visited China in the spring of 1926.⁹¹ No record remains of these contacts either.

Hinder was, of course, especially concerned to meet women who might be, presently or in future, active in the unions, and it was this that prompted her in due course to take a room in one of Shanghai's factory districts and begin offering English lessons to industrial girls, in company with an interpreter.⁹² After an hour or so of English Hinder would turn to a discussion of factory life, of its implications for women, and of the responsibilities it imposed upon them. Most of the women, it would seem, were not yet union members, but rather forewomen in one of the tobacco factories, upon whom Hinder sought to impress a sense of duty towards their fellows.

"I don't know how far my theory will work that I can make possible trade union secretaries of the future

out of forewomen; but it is certain that it will have to be from the ranks of the people who have had the real experience that the women leaders will have to come." ⁹³

Although Hinder appears to have no definite strategy with regard to the unions, and her idea that forewomen could be turned into union leaders might be held by some to contain within it the seeds of a contradiction, she was nonetheless much more favourably disposed towards the labour movement at this time than were officials in the YMCA, and was prepared to act on her convictions. Her experiment with the English lessons lasted at most only a few months, but it evidently helped to provoke a re-examination of attitudes towards the unions within the Association as a whole. ⁹⁴

The union movement at this turbulent time was not by any means homogenous, and Hinder was ambivalent in her approach to the division between so-called 'moderates' and 'extremists'. She deplored the policy of repression and harassment pursued towards the unions in 1926 by the Chinese authorities in Shanghai and by the Shanghai Municipal Council, arguing that such policies led to "...the more extreme types of thinking in the minds of the leaders; meeting no tolerance and understanding, they exhibit none." ⁹⁵ In this she represented the broadly social democratic thinking of the British and Australian labour movements with which she most closely identified.

A practical consequence of this repression, Hinder found, was that it was difficult to discover just where the labour movement stood on efforts at reform and regulation. For example, union members had, unsolicited, written offering to co-operate with the National Christian Council's Cost of Living Enquiry undertaken in 1926, but "...by the time a messenger could carry answer to the communication to the address from which the letter was sent, the headquarters was sealed by the Chinese police..." ⁹⁶ By the autumn of 1926, the world in Shanghai had, in the words of Lily Haas, "...turned upside down..." and all contact

with union members involved grave risks.

"Labor leaders are living in hiding, and if you could have heard, as I did not long ago. M. T. Tchou's story of how these men from time to time disappear you would understand how we cannot take any steps that will endanger their lives further. Much as we desire to know these men we are not pushing the matter at the present time."⁹⁷

On the other hand, Hinder, while recognizing the harassment to which unions were subject, seemed to wish in her own work with women to endorse only their economic objectives.

"So far it seems that labour is largely organised for political purposes, and our effort to stand by women in relation to their employment, and without any relation to politics will not be welcome, possibly."⁹⁸

The theory was that if the YWCA could contribute to the emergence of an 'intelligent leadership' among working women, then the women would be better equipped to organise and to judge for themselves the consequences of any action they might take in future, political or otherwise.⁹⁹ This is not to say that Hinder opposed political action or co-operation in some measure with groups that advocated it - indeed, at the height of the turmoil in Shanghai in April 1927 she said she would have no objection to dealing with the General Labour Union, "...however 'left' it might be..."¹⁰⁰ - but rather that she did not wish to involve the YWCA directly in overt political initiatives. As she put it,

"In the final issue the struggle belongs to labour: but there may be contributing agencies."¹⁰¹

Reinforcing Hinder's natural caution was the fact that the National Board of the Chinese YWCA apparently only approved its Industrial Department's approaches to women's labour unions early in 1927.¹⁰²

While some contact seems to have been established with union

leaders, probably both men and women, during the short-lived occupation of the house in Chapei in the winter of 1926/7,¹⁰³ and further exchanges took place spasmodically throughout 1927,¹⁰⁴ the erosion of the independence of the unions and their re-organisation under the Kuomintang must have in time severely curtailed the opportunities for contact. Early in 1928 Hinder published in the missionary journal Chinese Recorder a quite sophisticated article, about the growth of the labour movement, which though by no means pro-communist, noted in retrospect "... a sense of vitality and vigour and willingness to suffer on the part of the proponents of the radical cause..."¹⁰⁵ Not in the article, but in the typescript original, Hinder expressed her fear that a new 'reign of repression' was coming to Shanghai, only slightly better than that known under the regime of Sun Chuan-fang.¹⁰⁶ Shortly thereafter Hinder left China, and when she returned over two years later passed relatively quickly from the YWCA to her new post with the Shanghai Municipal Council. In 1929 the Nanking Government passed its new 'Labour Union Law', of which Lily Haass observed "...Even the conservative foreign papers feel that the draft goes too far... it is exceedingly disappointing..."¹⁰⁷ thus setting the final seal on the destruction of the unions as an independent force.

At the 1933 Conference of Industrial Secretaries, held under the supervision of Cora Deng, YWCA industrial welfare workers reviewed the relation of the Association to the trade unions. It was recognised that existing trade unions were 'controlled by the Tang Pu', and for this reason, and because Association officials could not themselves directly become members of unions, it was decided that the YWCA should not actively organise unions itself.¹⁰⁸ It could, however, educate working women about trade unionism, give counsel to their leaders, and offer training in group experience which would help the women to participate in organising their own unions, and it resolved to do so.¹⁰⁹ As the impact of the depression on China gave employers an excuse to dismiss

many workers and reduce the wages of others, the number of strikes in Shanghai and elsewhere rose after 1931, despite the fact that workers in many cases had no union. The memory of what had been achieved in the 'twenties had not been entirely lost, and as Cora Deng observed in 1935,

"Workers have shown their willingness to suffer, and their ability to organise. Given a chance, a spontaneous movement of workers will emerge as quickly as bamboo sprouts. Meantime the suppressed energy has been gathering momentum and acquiring ideology underground, which may well startle the world when a change takes place."¹¹⁰

By the mid-'thirties, therefore, the Industrial Department of the YWCA under Cora Deng's leadership had come to perceive the contradiction in the proposition on the basis of which the Department had originally begun its work in 1921, that the interests of capital and labour might be reconciled through the intermediary agency of a Christian organisation. This position had been arrived at as a result of the cumulative experience and disillusionment of a succession of industrial secretaries. That it was an exceptional position for Christian workers to take is tacitly recognised in the admission at the 1933 Industrial Secretaries Conference that YWCA industrial policy would 'inevitably arouse antagonisms', and that the various executive boards "...do not always have a favorable attitude towards unions...", and in acceptance of the necessity to reach out to explain the work within the Association as a whole, particularly "...the question of class struggle as the method of changing the economic system, since there are those who feel the change is to be accomplished by joint struggle...".¹¹¹

It must be supposed that Cora Deng did not seriously expect wholehearted endorsement of her programme from Association members, many of whom would probably have regarded her efforts to prepare working women for trade unionism as tantamount to incitement to riot. That she was able to pursue this programme may be attributed to

several factors. First, although the membership of the Association as a whole was largely drawn from among the daughters of the well-to-do, and the National Executive Committee included women such as Mrs. C. C. Chen, and Mrs. Fong Sec,¹¹² the wives of prominent business leaders, the actual intervention in, or even knowledge of, the day to day operations of the Industrial Department by the Executive Committee and other members seems always to have been quite limited, and indeed to have become more so after the departure of the more publicity conscious foreign staff of the 'twenties. Thus the Industrial Department was able to develop an independence in its everyday work which was partly a function of the rather specialised nature of the knowledge its secretaries needed to acquire, and partly a function of diminishing interest on the part of outsiders.

Again, the Department's work was given legitimacy in the eyes of the broader Association membership by the existence of an Industrial Advisory Committee within the World's Committee of the YWCA in London, and later in Geneva. The endorsement by this Committee as early as 1920 of the right of workers to organise, and of definite industrial standards, must have made these innovations seem less radical to Chinese YWCA members, most of whom must have wished to appear modern in their thinking on these matters, despite their anxieties about what these changes might mean for the stability of Chinese society.

Finally, YWCA industrial work does not appear to have depended for funds, as did that of the YMCA, principally on one donor agency abroad which then insisted on close supervision of the work. Neither did the Association accept gifts of cash or buildings from employers to assist it to carry out its programme. Instead with the one exception of the grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, funds for the work seem to have been generated within the Association, both through the provision of people or cash by other National branches - in the U.S., Britain or

Australia -, and through an allocation from the Chinese YWCA's regular annual budget.¹¹³ The fact that this money must have come originally from contributions from people who were middle class, or even wealthy, seems to have had little impact on the nature of the work for which it was used. Contributions to the various national branches of the YWCA seem normally to have gone first into a common pot, so the allocation made to an Industrial Department was sufficiently remote from its source to guarantee the Department a certain freedom of action.

The attitude of the National Christian Council towards employers and towards labour may be summarised more briefly. While the YMCA in its industrial work collaborated with employers, and the YWCA came into sharp conflict with them, the National Christian Council seems never in practice to have come close enough to the confrontation of opposed interests of labour and capital to have done one or the other. It is true that several employers served on the committee which prepared the original report on conditions in industry presented to the National Christian Conference in 1922,¹¹⁴ and the NCC accepted that the concept of the brotherhood of man excluded "...the selfish exploitation of labour by employers and by capitalists..."¹¹⁵, however a review of the history of the Council's Industrial Commission would seem to show that subsequent to 1922 no employers sat on the Commission, and indeed that it would appear to have had very little direct contact with employers at all.¹¹⁶ This is the more remarkable, when it is considered that the whole point of the Commission's campaign for legislated change, and of the publicity material which was the Commission's main output in the early years, was to influence the thinking not only of Christian clergy, but also of the employers, so that they would introduce those voluntary reforms which, it was felt, must precede legislation.

As a body, the Industrial Commission did not get to grips with the fact that employers were little moved by the moral argument for reform, and as a body therefore the Commission never progressed

beyond the moral argument.¹¹⁷ The more advanced thinking at the NCC's 1927 Conference on Christianizing Economic Relations which called for an end to the unequal distribution of wealth, and for co-operation to replace competition,¹¹⁸ was almost certainly that of one woman, Lily Haass, who by that time stood alone in the Industrial Commission, and who in due course herself left the Commission because of the NCC's unwillingness to take a stand, or even recognise that there was a stand to be taken. The successor to Lily Haass, J. B. Tayler, shifted the attention of the Commission, by now virtually a one-man operation, to small-scale industrial co-operatives, but when the Council proved uninterested in promoting deeper research in this field either, Tayler withdrew, and the Commission ceased to function. The Council's underlying attitude towards the employers, which was one of mild censure, and which seemed not to change very much over time because it was not funded by the direct experience which might have made it change, was such as to render the NCC ultimately at best irrelevant in the struggle between labour and capital. In point of fact, its lack of principle gave weight to the status quo; at the 1927 conference it was observed that among Chinese workers,

"...it is known that the Church, as an organisation, depends upon financial support, and it is felt that in a crisis, the Church would stand with the capitalist."¹¹⁹

It is further apparent that the NCC was extremely cautious in its approach to the labour movement. No endorsement was given at the 1922 conference to freedom to organise for working people, and indeed the NCC Industrial Commission for the next several years went about its business as if labour unions simply did not exist, making no mention of their role in improving conditions, actually, or potentially, in any of its publicity material. Only when the events of the mid-'twenties thrust the problem of relations with the unions unavoidably in front of the NCC did the Council reluctantly decide that

" In view of the emergence of self-conscious labour groups we believe the time has come for both the national Industrial Committee and local committees to attempt to make such methods of service to them as will further the cause of justice and brotherhood." ¹²⁰

a development of which Lily Haass remarked, "...I am not imagining, of course, that this expresses the general attitude of the NCC..." ¹²¹

At the 1927 conference the labour movement was again discussed, but it was noted that as most Church members were bourgeois they had few natural contacts with workers, while the latter, looking to the past, had little reason to trust that the Church would take much interest in their plight. ¹²² In the event, the Conference did not formally endorse in its 'findings' the principle of freedom of association for working people, ¹²³ but with the eclipse of the unions' independence under Chiang Kai-shek, and against the background of the growing conservatism of the NCC's constituency, this gesture must seem rather hollow. ¹²⁴ With the exception of a paper given by Chen Ta, unions were hardly mentioned at the 1931 Conference on the People's livelihood, delegates observing only that the repressive new Labour Union Law might 'fetter the liberty of workers'. ¹²⁵

Still within the context of the reformers' desire to interpose themselves between labour and capital, some mention must be made of the relations between the various Christian agencies and organs of Government. The YMCA for its part had no particular ties with any of the warlord governments existing in China prior to the Northern Expedition, but had elicited some interest and sympathy from the Government of Sun Yat-sen in Canton, largely because of its success with the Mass Education Movement. Ironically, these ties seem to have strengthened under Chiang Kai-shek, the principal bond between the YMCA and the Kuomintang being opposition to communism. ¹²⁶ It will be recalled that by 1929 the former YMCA Industrial Secretary Thomas

Tchou had become head of the Factory Inspection section of the Ministry of Industry, a post he held for several years, while subsequently at the local level Y. L. Lee, formerly of the Canton YMCA, was put in charge of a slum clearance project by the Municipality of Greater Shanghai.¹²⁷ When that municipality began its own 'model village' project in 1936, it collaborated closely with the YMCA,¹²⁸ while several ex-Association officials served on the Rickshaw Board set up by the Municipal Council of the International Settlement.¹²⁹

The YWCA flirted briefly with the thought of collaboration with Chinese authorities when it appeared that the coming of the Kuomintang to Shanghai might herald a new era in labour relations.¹³⁰ This was not to be, however, and Association officials were very soon disillusioned, Lily Haass writing in 1929

"The Government, in order to stand financially, must have the support of the bankers and the commercial class, which gives them the upper hand; also the Party and the Government have been quite frank from the beginning in expressing their determination that the labour movement should be completely subject to them. Such labour movement is no movement at all."¹³¹

Apart from the loss of one staff member by the Tientsin YWCA to the city's Department of Education in 1929,¹³² there appears to have been no further contact between the Association's Industrial Department and the Kuomintang until the national emergency posed the necessity for some measure of co-operation on the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937.

Relations with the foreign Municipal Council of the International Settlement in Shanghai were somewhat more cordial, and predicated for some time on the belief, perhaps mistaken, that foreigners at least must see and accept the urgent need for reform in industry. Hence the approaches to the Council which led to its creation of the Child Labour

Commission in 1923, and the attempt to have the Council establish an ongoing body to monitor industrial conditions in the Settlement, an objective realised with the creation of the Industrial Section, under the former YWCA official Eleanor Hinder, in 1932. Only when Hinder had worked within the Council for some time was it more generally appreciated how little this group of foreigners could be moved on industrial issues, and by this point the Association's Industrial Department under Cora Deng had left any hope of collaboration with the Council far behind.

The attitude of the NCC constituency towards the authorities is difficult to define, though it would not be grossly inaccurate to say that it was broadly sympathetic to whichever government was in power, provided it could maintain stability, but with a natural inclination towards any government whose leaders claimed to be Christian. There was, therefore, a growing consensus of support for Chiang Kai-shek in the late 'twenties and early 'thirties. The Industrial Commission of the NCC, however, could not be said to have collaborated with the authorities, its attitude towards government fluctuating according to changes in its personnel, and its particular preoccupation at the moment.

In the 'twenties under Henry Hodgkin it sought, with the YWCA, to influence Chinese and Settlement authorities to introduce industrial reforms, with no success. Under Lily Haass it was briefly elated at the prospects opened up by the coming of the Kuomintang to Shanghai, but both Haass and her assistant Gideon Chen had become disenchanted with the Government for its repressive tactics in 1929. J. B. Tayler, who headed the Commission in the early 'thirties for a time seems to have thought that American ideas on 'scientific management', if cultivated and applied in China through the agency of the Ministry of Industry, under the Christian H. H. Kung, could bring about a substantial transformation in the nature of industrial life.¹³³ Tayler was soon to drop the cause of scientific management, and take up that of co-operatively run small-

scale industry, but he apparently maintained a personal contact with Kung for many years to come. Tangible co-operation between the NCC Industrial Commission and government therefore amounted to no more than restrained participation by certain government officials and sympathizers in the Commission's two main conferences on economic matters in 1927 and 1931. Nonetheless, the contacts which both the NCC Commission and the YMCA did have with the Kuomintang, and even the overtures of the YWCA to the Shanghai Municipal Council, must have further compromised these organisations' claim to a neutral position between labour and capital in the eyes of working people.

In addition to these conceptual difficulties, and partly as a function of them, the Christian industrial reformers faced certain practical problems in their work which rendered it less effective. Because of the differing convictions of people involved in the work, there was not always adequate co-operation between organisations and individuals.

This tendency was most marked in relations between the YMCA and the YWCA. For example, quite early on it is possible to find references in YWCA Minutes and correspondence deploring the fact that neither the YMCA nor the NCC could provide a person to sit on the latter's Industrial Commission for more than two afternoons a week, leading the YWCA to decide not to offer the Commission a full-time staff member themselves until the other two agencies could promise similar collaboration.¹³⁴ On the part of the YMCA, this reticence was almost certainly due to an unwillingness to be too closely associated with a campaign which it could not directly control. The disposition of the first big Rockefeller grant made in 1924 has been dealt with elsewhere, but it will be recalled that here again the YMCA acted in a manner such as to discourage any co-operation, first by delaying payment to the YWCA and NCC of money which was rightfully theirs, effectively sabotaging

their short-term plans, and then by refusing to contribute to the salary of the NCC Industrial Secretary, or to any joint projects with the NCC and YWCA.¹³⁵ About the same time, the YMCA mounted a public drive for funds which conflicted in its timing with the campaign to have the ratepayers in the International Settlement approve legislation to restrict the use of child labour, and which in the view of at least one observer had detracted from that campaign.¹³⁶ When in 1930 the YWCA and NCC attempted to set up a Workers' Education Institute, the YMCA apparently made it clear that it wanted no part in the project.¹³⁷

On the individual level, a lack of co-operation is most evident within one organisation, the YMCA, where Thomas Tchou clashed sharply with the 'foreign expert' brought in to advise him - G.T.Schwenning - largely on the question of national independence versus foreign interference, Tchou himself came into conflict with his superiors over his method of handling the work, and subsequently resigned, and his successor John Nipps antagonised the YMCA hierarchy both for his personality and for the quality of his work, and was dismissed.¹³⁸ The absence of a spirit of co-operation within the YMCA with respect to its industrial programme, while not fundamental to the demise of the programme, must have hastened its decline.

Within the other two organisations different conditions prevailed. In the YWCA a spirit of positive co-operation among the various Industrial Secretaries, and in a formal sense, between them and their Association Executive Committee, contributed significantly to the growth of the work. The Secretaries varied in their outlook from the relatively cautious Mary Dingman and Eleanor Hinder, who were nonetheless still broadly social democratic in their approach, through Agatha Harrison and Lily Haass, who were both prepared to challenge the existing economic system, to Cora Deng, who in her later phase apparently hoped it would be swept away by popular struggle and replaced by a system no longer

based on competition and profit. Despite these differences, YWCA secretaries do not appear to have disagreed at any given time on the policy to be pursued at that moment in industrial work, and were united by a very tangible concern for the people whose lives they were trying to improve.

Within the NCC Industrial Commission, there was adequate co-operation between the YWCA and certain missionaries on the limited tasks the Commission undertook - the campaign for industrial standards, the child labour campaign, and the two major conferences - but where any effective co-operation was lacking was between the Commission and the National Christian Council's own Executive Committee and constituency, and this lack was not in the form of positive interference, as in the case of the YMCA, but in the negative form of almost complete apathy towards the preoccupations of the Commission. This was responsible for the resignation of both the Commission's principal Secretaries, that of Lily Haass coming in 1929, and that of J. B. Tayler in 1932. The trend of the established church in China towards a renewed emphasis on evangelism, beginning in the late 'twenties, has been noted, and the judgment of Haass and Tayler that this would leave little scope for industrial work was confirmed by an independent observer who remarked in 1930 on the conservatism with respect to the question of 'social leadership' of the Church and of the missionary body as a whole.¹³⁹ It was not, in the event therefore, possible to rely on local pastors to advance the cause of industrial reform; instead of acting as conductors for new ideas on industrial relations, they acted collectively only as a brake.

It is necessary to make only brief mention here of two other practical impediments to the success of the reform movement, both of which have been dealt with in some measure elsewhere.¹⁴⁰ These were the lack of an adequate and assured supply of money with which to fund the work, and the scarcity of trained personnel to carry it out. Essential

to the development of the industrial programmes of each of the Christian agencies was a reliable budget allocated specifically for industrial work. In the early years, allocations for this purpose, even in the YWCA, tended to be ad hoc and rather small, and with the appearance of being given grudgingly from funds originally intended for more established work.¹⁴¹ The relatively large grant made by Rockefeller to all three agencies in 1924 certainly increased the scope of the work, and the YWCA and the NCC at least seem to have made good use of the money for as long as it lasted, impressing Rockefeller sufficiently to qualify for smaller terminal sums when the initial grant had run out. In some measure, however, the assistance from the Rockefeller Foundation lulled the Christian agencies into a false sense of security, and when the money from this source was finally stopped, at the height of the impact of the depression on China, only the YWCA proved able, or willing, to dig deeper into its own reserves to maintain and develop its industrial programme. J. B. Tayler, it will be recalled, had sought to meet this emergency for the NCC Industrial Commission by involving some of the universities and other external agencies in the maintenance of the Commission's work, but to no avail.¹⁴²

From the beginning, both the YMCA and the YWCA had received some money from their parent organisations abroad for industrial work, and the implications of this for the policy pursued have been considered above. Despite this help, and the Rockefeller grant, there is a strain of anxiety about money running through the correspondence of Industrial Secretaries throughout the duration of the work. At the most optimistic time financially, each of the Christian agencies, the NCC included, had no more than a few thousand dollars gold a year to spend on its industrial programme, to be used in one way or another to try to improve the lot potentially of several hundred thousand working people, many of them in Shanghai alone. Because of very limited financial resources therefore in comparison with the size of the field, Christian industrial reformers would, all other things being equal, have been able to make only the

slightest impact on the condition of working people.

In much the same vein, the effectiveness of the movement for reform must in some measure have been limited by the number of Industrial Secretaries and other trained personnel each agency could count on in its work in this sphere at any given time, a function partly of the money available for salaries, but also of the scarcity of people willing to take 'industrial welfare', in the broad sense, as their vocation, and to spend time in study and in gaining the practical experience which would give them the necessary insight into the lives of working people. Where the emphasis was placed on a campaign for voluntary reform and legislated standards, the smallness of the band of reformers was perhaps not very important, but insofar as the work came to consist of a direct approach to factory employees, as for example in the case of the YWCA, with the object in its later phase of promoting an awareness among them of the need for unionisation and collective struggle, then the fact that so few secretaries were actively engaged in the work must be seen as a positive disadvantage. In the mid-'thirties Cora Deng had probably no more than half a dozen Industrial Secretaries to help her in all of China, of whom half were likely to have been quite inexperienced; when this is set against the size of the constituency among the workers whom she was trying to reach, the sheer enormity of the task will be more easily appreciated.

In this chapter it has been intended to convey an impression of the theory behind the movement for Christian industrial reform, and of the contradictions in the theory as they are reflected in practice. It remains only to consider the extent to which the experience gained in practice in fact modified the theory, which it will be suggested occurred in two cases, with the result that some of the fundamental assumptions and premises on which the movement was originally based were cast aside, and a significant step forward taken towards a more objective

perception of what was necessary to the improvement of the lives of working people.

The first case is the conversion of the industrial staff of the YWCA from a belief in the possibility of voluntary reform from above in industry, reinforced by legislation, to a belief in the need for collective struggle from below to achieve a complete transformation of the economic system, and a full realisation of the dignity of working people. This dramatic reversal did not come about suddenly, but had its roots in the experience of YWCA secretaries in the turbulent two years between the May 30th Incident in 1925 and Chiang Kai-shek's campaigns against the communists in 1927. During this time the Association's industrial staff saw foreigners in Shanghai refuse to approve the Municipal Council's child labour legislation, and succumb to extremes of jingoist hysteria and racial prejudice as troops of the Northern Expedition approached the International Settlement.¹⁴³ They vested their hopes for legislated reform in the promise of a government of all the progressive forces in the United Front, only to have these hopes dashed with Chiang's first anti-communist coup in April 1927.¹⁴⁴ Towards the end of that year they witnessed the beginnings of the regimentation of the unions under Kuomintang control, and the growth of the compact between Government and business.

This train of events brought profound disillusionment to the instinctively cautious Eleanor Hinder, at that time chief Industrial Secretary of the YWCA, and undoubtedly contributed to her decision to resign and return to Australia in the early spring of 1928. As has been noted, this disappointment was shared by other members of the Association's Industrial Department,¹⁴⁵ and probably was felt in other departments, in one of which- the Student Department - Cora Deng was a young trainee secretary. In 1929 promulgation of Nanking's Factory Acts was accompanied by passage of trade union legislation which finally set the

seal on the destruction of the unions as an independent force.

By the end of the decade, therefore, all the channels through which the YWCA had hoped to promote gradual reform - the foreigners, the employers, the new Government - had been effectively closed off. When Cora Deng returned from Europe in 1930 to assume leadership of the Industrial Department, the cumulative experience and wisdom of the Department really left no choice but to strike out in a totally new direction, which Deng, after a brief period in which she came to grips with her new job, did in fact do. The fundamental shift in industrial policy to a campaign to raise class consciousness and cultivate women for participation in collective struggle, dating from the Industrial Secretaries Conference in January 1933, can thus be seen as the only major instance in which any of the Christian agencies used the lessons of practice to modify its theory. Although the scope of the programme implemented as a result was very limited, the work was perhaps the most useful the YWCA Industrial Department could do under the circumstances.

The second case in which practice came to have a significant impact on theory, and hence on future practice, was the realisation on the part of J. B. Tayler that he could apply the experience of co-operative organisation which he had gained in the agricultural sphere while working for the China Committee on Famine Relief, along with certain modern techniques of manufacture, to the creation of rural industrial co-operatives. Tayler, it will be recalled, had long taken an interest in urban industrial reform, had been in part responsible for Agatha Harrison's being summoned to China, and had piloted the Reconnaissance Committee funded by the Rockefeller Foundation out of whose investigations ultimately emerged the Cost of Living Study of 1926/7, among other projects. Tayler knew therefore at first hand of the problems of the urban industrial worker, and appreciated the enormous difficulties involved in ameliorating these conditions in the crowded and competitive environment of the Treaty Port cities. He also knew of the poverty of rural families, whose sole

means of subsistence was agriculture, and who in times of economic crisis even more acute than usual flocked to the cities in search of work, making matters there still worse.

While it would be inaccurate to say that Tayler shared completely the disillusionment of YWCA staff with employers and Government in the late 'twenties, it is clear that he had come by the end of the decade to feel the need for a totally new strategy which would provide an alternative to the growing dichotomy between city and countryside. This strategy is first clearly articulated in the paper on industrial co-operatives which he presented to the Conference on the People's Livelihood in 1931. While over the next several years he was able to raise enough money and practical help to promote only two or three experimental industrial co-ops, Tayler went on thinking and writing about co-operatives, and when the war came, was called on to act as an advisor to the massive Indusco project.

It would not appear that Tayler expected the co-operative principle in industry to displace capitalism, though if it had been cultivated and developed at the pace apparent early in the war, and if it had met no opposition, it might theoretically have done so in time. Rather, Tayler felt that individual co-operatives and the federations of which they were a part should grow up side by side with capitalist industrial enterprise, and be able to compete with it. His feeling that co-operation could constitute a middle way between capitalism and communism, and might supplant both, seems to belong to his thinking on this subject after the war.

The real genius of Tayler's insight of 1931, however, lies in two points. First, he proposed to introduce industry, albeit simple industry, into the hinterland, and second, he proposed to do this co-operatively. In both of these, he foreshadowed not only Indusco, but also in some measure developments in China after the Liberation. Both these concepts

were quite revolutionary in their implications, for the diffusion of industry in the countryside was key to a more equal distribution of wealth between city and country, reduction of the pressure on the cities, and the consequent improvement of the conditions of life and labour in them, while the education for participation in important decisions essential to the practice of the co-operative principle would in time spawn a critical workforce able to take the destiny of its class and its nation into its own hands. It is not unlikely that the Kuomintang came during the war to see the implications of the rural industrial co-operative movement, and the movement's demise is only an indication that Tayler's co-ops could not have been realised on any significant scale in peacetime so long as the power in China remained in the hands of militarists, capitalists, and the landowning class. It would be for the Communist Party, which had developed a remarkably similar if more sophisticated blueprint for socioeconomic change, to sweep away the old order through military struggle before this blueprint could begin to be put into practice.

Chapter 9

Summing Up

What was the sum total of the efforts made on behalf of industrial workers in China by Christian and other Western agencies?

Broadly speaking, the pursuit of industrial welfare might be expected to involve the analysis and amelioration of all those variable conditions which combine to determine the extent of well-being of the industrial worker and his family. Any consideration of industrial welfare in China ought then to take into account the origins and skill level of workers, the extent of continued urban-rural mobility, hiring practices involved in apprenticeship, the labour contract system, and the letting of outwork, the employment of women and children, hours, days of rest and holidays, rates of pay, the cost of living, the measure of unemployment, factors affecting workers' health and safety, the quality of housing available, the accessibility of education, the provision, if any, of welfare facilities by the employers, and the existence and enforcement of legislation to govern conditions of labour. Any organisation concerned with the welfare of labour might also be expected to get in touch with the organisations of labour, to ascertain what working people themselves were doing to improve their lot.

Of the agencies which have been the focus of this study, the YMCA, the YWCA, the Industrial Commission of the NCC, the ILO, and the Industrial Section of the Shanghai Municipal Council, it would appear that none showed any interest in the pattern of movement between the countryside and the city and the factors which gave rise to it, nor in the skill level of industrial workers which was partially a function of this mobility. With respect to hiring practices, both apprenticeship and the contract labour system came in for sharp criticism during the delibera-

tions of the Child Labour Commission in 1924, which was itself really an initiative of individuals within the YWCA and the NCC. Nothing positive emerged from this criticism, however, though in 1940 the Engineering Society of China in conjunction with the Industrial Section of the Shanghai Municipal Council began to implement a programme for registration and training for bona fide apprentices. No real effort seems to have been made to discourage employers from hiring through labour contractors, while the conditions of employment of outworkers seem to have been completely neglected. Although the use of children in industry attracted much attention in Shanghai in the early 'twenties, after the failure of the Municipal Council to enact legislation to limit the employment of children in factories this issue seems no longer to have been a principal concern of the reform lobby. The particular difficulties faced by women industrial workers were, however, an ongoing preoccupation of the YWCA, which throughout the period under consideration sought to gather detailed information about the conditions which women had to endure, and to help them in a practical way wherever possible.

Data on hours of work, rates of pay, and the cost of living for industrial workers were collected with varying degrees of precision by each of the agencies considered here. This information gathering on the part of the YMCA was carried on chiefly under the auspices of Thomas Tchou, in the early 'twenties and with his departure from the Association was effectively discontinued. Both the YMCA and YWCA which continued to gather data into the 'thirties, concentrated on hours and rates of pay in different industries and regions, and it would only be on the initiative of the National Christian Council's Industrial Commission, albeit under YWCA leadership, that the first attempt to make a coherent estimate of the cost of living for workers was undertaken in 1926. It will be recalled that this survey was taken over by the Social Affairs Bureau of the Municipal Government of Greater Shanghai in 1927, and was the basis for other surveys undertaken subsequently by the Bureau, and by

the Industrial Section of the Shanghai Municipal Council after the outbreak of war with Japan. The Council's Industrial Section began to collect comprehensive information on hours, rates of pay, and the cost of living in the area under its control in the late 'thirties. No original surveys were undertaken by the China Bureau of the ILO, though some data was gathered rather haphazardly by visiting officials from the Organisation's headquarters in Geneva. Generally, information sent back to Geneva by the China Bureau was lifted wholesale from other, often Government, sources, and was apt to be unreliable. Unfortunately, such energy as was invested in the gathering of information about the livelihood of industrial workers yielded little of the fruit of practical improvement in their lives. In the vast majority of cases, it is generally conceded that hours of work were no shorter, and real wages very little higher in early 1937 than they had been in the early 1920's, when at least the growing labour movement held out the prospect of some improvement. With the coming of the war, as has been noted, rising prices forced a drastic reduction in the standard of living of working people.

Another problem which seems largely to have eluded the consciousness of students of industrial welfare was unemployment. Among projects undertaken by reformers it is not possible to find a single survey devoted to an analysis of the extent or effects of unemployment, and it was not until the influx of refugees into the International Settlement in Shanghai posed a serious administrative problem for the authorities that the Council's Industrial Section attempted to estimate the number of unemployed in the Settlement, and, along with officials of the YWCA, to find work for some of them. Nor, of course, was there any regular welfare provision for the unemployed.

With respect to the health and safety of industrial workers, the record is somewhat different. Though little attention was paid to health and safety questions by the YMCA, except briefly under Thomas Tchou,

the YWCA and the NCC Industrial Commission were from the beginning concerned to point out to employers conditions or practices in their factories which threatened the health or safety of working people. The NCC it will be recalled commissioned the study into phosphorous poisoning in match factories in 1924 which was instrumental in causing the abandonment of white phosphorous by many manufacturers of matches. The Child Labour Commission in its report commented repeatedly on those aspects of factory work which damaged the health of children, with the result that certain practices, for example with respect to the boiling and peeling of silk cocoons, were changed. The YWCA in its 'direct' work with factory women after 1926 almost always provided the facilities of a clinic and the services of a doctor in addition to carrying on its other work of education and group training. Vaccination against smallpox and other diseases was also frequently available. The most urgent concern of the Shanghai Municipal Council's Industrial Section upon its formation in 1932 was to induce employers to act to remove some of the hazards rife in industrial employment. Staff of the Section paid regular visits of inspection to factories in the Settlement to assess health and safety precautions, while wherever possible reports were taken and statistics kept on the incidence of industrial accidents. Several special studies were commissioned with respect to processes in manufacture particularly hazardous to the health of workers, and into the diet of workers.

In the realm of housing for working people, Thomas Tchou's study of 1926 on Shanghai stands out. His 'model village' project was a logical and constructive response to the situation which his research had revealed, and it is unfortunate that upon his resignation from the YMCA, Association officials should have sought to use the village to impose a narrow Christian morality upon a captive population, and that they ignored Tchou's injunction to make the village self-governing. That the village was reproduced on a much larger scale in the mid 'thirties by the Municipality of Greater Shanghai is some testimony to the worth of the original project. The

Shanghai Municipal Council commissioned rather belatedly in 1936 its report on workers' housing in the Settlement, which exposed conditions of overcrowding soon to be made much worse by the war. As has been noted, its Industrial and Social Division in 1941 influenced the Council to enact legislation to provide for control of rent for tenants and sub-tenants, which was subsequently enforced with some success. Efforts by the Industrial Section to discourage the spread of dormitory accommodation, however, seem to have been unrewarded.

The aspect of 'direct' social work for which the Christian agencies were perhaps best known in China was the provision of adult education. This was the mainstay of YMCA involvement with working people, both in the cities and, after the inception of James Yen's 'Mass Education Movement' in 1923 in the countryside as well. The YMCA's adult education programme consisted largely of literacy classes offering instruction in the one thousand basic characters, as well as classes in such subjects as elementary mathematics, civics, and of course in Christian scripture. Much emphasis was placed on the need to achieve a 'moral uplift' among the working classes, and this rather narrow view of the purpose of education, and indeed of all contact with working people, seems to have survived the attempt of Thomas Tchou to broaden the horizons of the Association in its pursuit of industrial welfare.

The YWCA also offered literacy classes, to working women, beginning in 1926, as well as courses in arithmetic, history, geography and other subjects to graduates of the literacy programme. After Cora Deng came to direct the Association's Industrial Department the literacy campaign was infused with new colour as Secretaries sought to introduce reference to the day to day problems of working women into their classes, while at a more advanced level courses were offered in such subjects as trade unionism, labour legislation, and economics. It is apparent, therefore, that in the 1930's the YWCA Industrial Department came to

see adult education not only as an end in itself, but as a means of cultivating a more sophisticated political awareness among working women. Despite this, it must be remembered that for the YWCA, as indeed for the YMCA, the fact that human and financial resources were so limited in comparison with the size of the problem meant that only a very small proportion of those who stood to gain from popular education could possibly be reached.

Much of the earlier activity of reformers was directed towards the 'forming of opinion' among employers with respect to the need for improved working conditions and the provision of welfare facilities of various kinds for their employees. It has been noted that working conditions improved negligibly, if at all, during the period under review. It is also apparent, however, that the Christian reform lobby materially failed to alter the extent to which welfare facilities, such as literacy classes, health care, accident compensation, and pension schemes, were provided by individual firms. Those companies which by the standard of the time might have been considered more advanced in their attitude towards welfare, such as the Commercial Press, the Naigai Wata Kaisha, and the British American Tobacco Company, appear to have demonstrated some commitment to the principle of welfare quite independently of the entreaties of the reform lobby, probably because they had found that the concession of a few benefits helped to ensure the docility of the workforce. The great majority of employers did not provide their workers with any significant benefits in addition to their pay, and as a body they remained unmoved by the arguments for reform, and very probably in many cases unapproached.

The resistance which the reformers met among employers prompted them quite early to press for legislation to regulate conditions of work, particularly with reference to the employment of children, a weekly day of rest, and hours of work. Agitation in support of these objectives

on the part of officials of the YWCA and the NCC probably contributed in some measure to the decision of the Peking Government in 1923 to promulgate its Provisional Factory Regulations, though the growing militancy of the labour unions may have played a larger part. Similarly, it is possible to conceive of the Kuomintang legislation of 1929/31 as having been influenced by the thinking of Christian reformers, though it is equally likely that in enacting the regulations the Government was principally concerned with its reputation nationally and internationally and for this reason felt obliged to keep a commitment first made before the death of Sun Yat-sen. It will be recalled that the regulations were passed in company with the new Labour Union Law of 1929/31, which gave legitimacy to the drastic curtailment of the power and independence of trade unions. What is most significant about the record with respect to factory legislation, however, was that in all cases almost no effort was made to enforce it, that excuses were made and reasons found for interminable delay.

In truth, most employers and government officials shared an allegiance to the logic of laissez-faire, against which agitation for reform, whether voluntary or legislated, ran as a contrary current. A very few of the more perceptive reformers recognised this in due course, and changed their tactics accordingly. Chief among these were Cora Deng, Rewi Alley, and perhaps unconsciously, J. B. Tayler. It has been suggested that the most enduring contributions to the welfare of working people were probably made by Cora Deng of the YWCA who, after years of neglect of the labour unions on the part of Christian reformers sought to train women for trade union activity, and by J. B. Tayler, who sought to promote rural industrial co-operatives on a model which would in some measure be the inspiration for the ingenious Indusco network built up by Rewi Alley and others during the war. In both of these cases, the endeavour was to encourage the collective initiative of working people, rather than to provide palliatives or lobby for concessions from above.

It is this progress beyond paternalism that sets their efforts apart from all the other industrial welfare work.

FootnotesChapter 1

1. 'Minutes of the Child Labour Commission of Shanghai', typescript, 1923-24, testimony of McNicol, in the archives of the library at the Friends' Meeting House, London, Agatha Harrison Papers, Temporary Box 50-B.
2. Labor Legislation in China, Augusta Wagner, Peking, 1938, p.11.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., pp.11-12.
5. See The Growth and Industrialisation of Shanghai, D.K.Lieu, Shanghai, 1936, pp.349-358, table C-VI, and Wagner, op.cit., p.12; also Chung-kuo kuo-min ching-chi kai-k'uang (Outline of the Chinese National Economy), Ho Han-wen, Peking, 1932, pp.7-8.
6. See, for example, the discussion of this problem in Wagner, op.cit., pp.4-11, and in The Chinese Labor Movement, Nym Wales, New York, 1945, pp.152-155.
7. According to Franklin Ho and H.D. Fong, Directors of the Nankai University Committee on Social and Economic Research, the inadequacy of the early figures was a result of disruption caused by civil war, the failure to assess the level of mechanisation in the factories being surveyed, or to fix the definition of a factory, 'inexperience' and 'inertia' on the part of those gathering data, miscalculations and misprints. See The Extent and Effects of Industrialisation in China, Franklin Ho and H.D. Fong, Tientsin, 1929, p.8. Much the same criticisms could be made of data gathered in the 'thirties. See D.K. Lieu op.cit., pp.61-64. A recent reassessment of China's industrial growth by Chinese historians also recognises the inadequacy of early statistical information. See comments in Chung-kuo chin-tai kung-yeh-shih tzu-liao (source material for history of modern industry of China), Ch'en Chen et al, Peking, 1957-58, vol.1, pp.54, fn.4, and 57, fn.2.
8. The British 'White Paper' Labour Conditions in China, Cmd. 2442, published in 1925, which contained a considerable amount of information compiled by British consular officers on the scope and value of British enterprise in China, was the exception to the more general practice of discretion in such

matters. This document was produced in response to a growing concern in Britain about labour militancy in China, and to the exposure of conditions of life and labour by the lobby seeking to restrict the use of child labour in Shanghai. See below, chapter 7.

9. See below, chapter 6.
10. Statistics from the Annual Reports of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, 1914-1920, are reproduced in Ho and Fong, op.cit., pp.9-10.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., p.12.
13. Wagner, op.cit., p.11.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. According to the Factory Act of 1931, a 'factory' was an industrial establishment which used power machinery and employed 30 people or more.
17. Ho and Fong, op.cit., p.13. In the China Year Book, it was maintained that this was not only a result of the war, which had reduced the extent of competition from outside China, but also of the revision of tariffs effective 1919, which had imposed higher import duties on cotton yarn. See the China Year Book, 1938, p.539. Yen Chung-p'ing, in his recent study of the growth of the cotton industry in China, places its progress at this time in the context of the erosion of British commercial supremacy in the Far East and elsewhere. See Chung-kuo mien-fong-chih shih-liao (Draft history of the cotton-spinning industry in China, 1289-1937), Yen Chung-P'ing, Shanghai, 1955, p.162.
18. Ho and Fong, op.cit., p.17.
19. Complete List of Cotton Mills in China, (Chung-kuo sha-ch'ang i-lan piao) Chinese Cotton Mill Owners' Association, Shanghai, 1937, cited in Wagner, op.cit., p.11.
20. See, for example, the study Industrial Women in Wusih, by Kyong Bae-tsung, National Committee of the YWCA of China, Shanghai, 1929, in the archives of the library at the National Headquarters, YWCA of the United States, New York (B).

This study reveals that 82% of the 9,539 operatives in four cotton mills in Wusih were women. See p.4.

21. Ho and Fong, op.cit., pp.17-18.
22. Ibid., p.19.
23. Kyong, op.cit., p.2.
24. This figure is obtained if the average number of workers per filature in Shanghai and Wusih is taken to apply to filatures throughout China. This assumption would seem not unreasonable, as while some filatures may have been smaller than those in Shanghai and Wusih, those in Kwangtung are supposed to have been larger. See Ho and Fong, op.cit., pp.19-20.
25. Ibid., p.20.
26. For example, in Shanghai the British firm Jardine Matheson owned the large 'Ewo' silk filature which was in the 1920's the subject of allegations about the extensive use of child labour.
27. China Year Book, 1938, p.545.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid. A comprehensive account of the history of the Nanyang Bros. Tobacco Co. is contained in the commentary to Nanyang hsiung-ti yen-ts'ao kung-ssu shih-liao (Source material for the history of the Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company), Chung-kuo k'o-hsueh-yuan Shang-hai ching-chi yen-chiu-so, etc. Shanghai, 1958. This study as well as giving prominence to social matters and labour struggles, recounts the competition which developed between the company and the British American Tobacco Co. for influence with the Nationalist Government. A brief account of the history of the BAT Co. in China is given in Li-shih Yen-chiu, no.4, 1976, "Tsung ying-mei yen kung-ssu kan ti-kuo-chu-i ti ching-shi chin" (Imperialist penetration of China as seen in the case of the British-American Tobacco Co.
30. Ibid., p.548.
31. According to a report of the Nanking Government's Bureau of Information in 1928, cited in Ho and Fong, there were at that time 189 match factories in China. See Ho and Fong, op.cit., p.24.
32. China Year Book, 1938, p.548.

33. Ibid., p.543.
34. Ibid., p.542.
35. Ibid., p.546.
36. This would have been the view advanced by the cotton mill owners, for example. The Chairman of the foreign Cotton Mill Owners' Association, R.J. McNicol, in testimony before the Child Labour Commission in Shanghai in 1924, remarked of business prospects that they were "...very bad at present, and would probably become worse...". Testimony of R.J. McNicol, 'Minutes of the Child Labour Commission of Shanghai', typescript, 1923-24, in the archives of the Friends' Meeting House, London, Agatha Harrison Papers, Temporary Box 50-B.
37. China Year Book, 1938, p.541.
38. Ibid., p.539.
39. The efforts of the Shanghai Municipal Council's Industrial Section to cope with the problems created by the emergency are considered below in chapter 6.
40. See Foreign Investments in China, C.F. Remer, Shanghai, 1933, and New York 1968. Remer had been involved in the 1920's in the early Christian initiatives to disseminate information about working conditions in Chinese industry. See below, chapter 4. Chinese historians have more recently reviewed the former foreign economic presence in their country. In volume 2 of Chung-kuo chin-tai kung-yeh-shih tzu-liao, op.cit. source material is assembled to show in some detail the nature and extent of foreign investment in China, by country of origin of capital invested.
41. Remer, op.cit., p.70.
42. Ibid., p.86.
43. Ibid., p.400.
44. Ibid., pp.499-500.
45. Ibid., pp.289 and 603.
46. See Report of Mr. Justice Feetham to the Shanghai Municipal Council, 1931, Shanghai, 1931.

47. This thread runs throughout the three volume report. Feetham did concede, however, that rendition of the Settlement to Chinese control would ultimately be necessary. Ibid., vol. 2, pp.139-140.
48. The so-called 'jurisdiction dispute' is taken up in chapter 6, below.
49. The Chinese Labor Movement, 1919-1927, Jean Chesneaux, Stanford, 1968, p.451.
50. Ibid., p.54.
51. Ibid., p.56. Chesneaux maintains that in Shanghai the use of apprenticeship was restricted to small enterprises such as dye works, canneries and some printing works, but testimony before the Child Labour Commission in Shanghai in 1923 would appear to indicate that its use in the city was more common, notably in shipbuilding, construction, and in rug factories. See 'Minutes of the Child Labour Commission of Shanghai', typescript, 1923-24, loc.cit., testimony of Skinner, Chen, and Hille.
52. Ibid. The issue of apprenticeship is taken up by Lowe Ch'uan-hua, both in his Facing Labor Issues in China, pp.23-27, and in his Chin-jih Chung-kuo lao-tung wen-ti, pp.226-232. The former was published in London in 1934, and the latter in Shanghai in 1933; while substantially similar, their texts vary in detail. It is significant that Lowe should feel unable to put such a strong case against apprenticeship in the Chinese version as in the English edition of his book.
53. Chesneaux, op.cit., p.59.
54. Ibid., pp.60-61.
55. Wagner, op.cit., p.37.
56. Cora Deng in 'A Visit to a Contract Labour Dormitory', March 1934, cited in ibid., p.38.
57. Ibid.
58. 'Report of the Child Labour Commission', part 1, in the Shanghai Municipal Gazette, July 19, 1924, in the archives of the library at the Friends' Meeting House, London, Agatha Harrison Papers, Temporary Box 50-B. It is perhaps surprising that communist and other militant observers did not make more of the issue of the employment of children under

contract and in other ways. Probably typical, however, is the attitude of Li Ta-chao expressed in a letter to Chung-kuo Kung-jen at the time of the campaign against child labour in 1925. Li took the view that any attempt at gradual reform of child labour was futile, and that the issue could only be resolved through mass struggle on the part of the trade unions. See "Shang-hai te t'ung-kung wen-ti", by Li Ta-chao, April 1925, in Li Ta-chao hsuan-chi, (Collected Works of Li Ta-chao) Peking, 1962, pp.516-22.

59. The writer's efforts to tabulate this information proved unrewarding.

60. For example: Wage Rates in Shanghai (Shang-hai shih chih kung-tzu li), Bureau of Social Affairs, City Government of Greater Shanghai, 1935 (English and Chinese).

The Growth and Industrialisation of Shanghai, D.K. Lieu, cop.cit., especially Appendix B, pp.306-314.

"A Study of Wage Rates in Shanghai, 1930-34", T.Y.Tsha, in Nankai Social and Economic Quarterly, vol.8, no.3, Oct. 1935.

"Man-Power in China", Dorothy Orchard, in Political Science Quarterly, vols.50 and 51, Dec. 1935 and March 1936.

The study which gave rise to a more general interest in this problem was: The Index Numbers of Earnings of Factory Laborers in Greater Shanghai, July-December 1928 (Shang-hai t'e-pieh-shih kung-tzu chih-shu chih shih-pien), Bureau of Social Affairs, City Government of Greater Shanghai (English and Chinese).

61. For example: "The Standard of Living of Factory Workers", H.D. Lamson, in the Chinese Economic Journal, vol.7, 1930.

The Cost of Living Index Numbers of Laborers, Greater Shanghai January 1926-December 1931, (Shang-hai-shih kung-jen sheng-huo-fei chih-shu) Bureau of Social Affairs, City Government of Greater Shanghai, 1932 (English and Chinese).

"The Living Standard of Shanghai Labourers", in China Critic, vol.7, Dec.27, 1934.

'Report of the Housing Committee, 1936-37', Shanghai Municipal Council, cited in the Shanghai Municipal Gazette, March 30, 1937. See section on the expenditure of working class families, reproduced in Wagner, op.cit., p.47.

62. "A Study of Wage Rates in Shanghai", T.Y. Tsha, loc.cit., p.501, cited in Wales, op.cit., p.156.
63. Ibid.
64. See "Labor Conditions", by Lowe Ch'uan-hua, in the Chinese Year Book, 1937, p.768.
65. Ibid.
66. See, for example "Visite d'une filature de coton, Pekin" and "Visite de petites manufactures de tapis, Pekin", in 'Visites d'Usines', typescript, 1924, in dossier G/900/28/1 Voyage de M. Pierre Henry en Chine, in the archives of the International Labour Office, Geneva.
67. "Man-Power in China", by Dorothy Orchard, loc.cit.
68. See below, appendix 1.A.
69. After 1932, wages tend to drop because of the Depression.
70. "The Living Standard of Shanghai Labourers", by T.Y.Tsha, loc.cit.
71. 'Report of the Housing Committee, 1936-37', loc.cit., pp.119-120.
72. Ibid. The survey covered a sample of families of 101 unskilled workers paid from \$15 to \$24 per month, 85 semi-skilled workers paid from \$25 to \$34 per month, and 94 skilled workers paid from \$35 to \$60 per month, and 390 families of workers whose skill level and income was not specified.
73. "Regulation of Industrial Conditions", in Annual Report of the Shanghai Municipal Council, 1938, p.43. Except where noted otherwise, these reports were consulted at the Foreign Office Library, London.
74. Ibid., 1940, p.53.
75. Ibid. It is not clear to the writer that this would have been the case. In cotton mills, for example, where much foreign

capital was invested, the use of female labour was widespread, and in most mills women workers would probably have constituted a majority.

76. See below, appendix 1.B.
77. Ibid.
78. Ibid.
79. See below, appendix 1.C. The greatest increase over the years 1937-39 was in the cost of accommodation, fuel and light, food and clothing. See "Regulation of Industrial Conditions", 1939, pp.46-47, loc.cit. A Chinese study, completed after the Liberation, suggests that despite post-war fiscal reform the cost of living index in Shanghai had risen from a base of 100 in 1936 to over 3 million by 1947. See Shang-hai chieh-fang ch'ien-hou wu-chia tzu-liao hui-pien, 1921-57 (Commodity Prices before and after the Liberation of Shanghai, 1921-57), Chung-kuo k'o-hsueh-yuan Shang-hai ching-chi yen-chiu-so, etc., Shanghai, 1959, p.330.
80. "Regulation of Industrial Conditions", 1935, p.37, loc.cit.
81. Facing Labor Issues in China, Lowe Chpuan-hua, op.cit., p.118. Lowe notes that data on unemployment in Shanghai had not been kept up to date by the Bureau of Social Affairs.
82. Ibid.
83. Cited in *ibid.* Yet another source put the total number of unemployed in handicraft and modern industry for the peak depression year of 1934 at 12½ million. See Chung-kuo lao-tung nien-chien (Chinese Labour Year Book), 1934, p.252.
84. "Regulation of Industrial Conditions", 1935, p.37.
85. "Regulation of Industrial Conditions", reprinted from the Annual Report of the Shanghai Municipal Council, 1937, p.2, in dossier N/200/1/13/5 in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.
86. "Regulation of Industrial Conditions", 1938, p.31, loc.cit. These totals include workers in the so-called 'extra-Settlement roads' areas, which were under Municipal Council jurisdiction.
87. In fact, the level of economic activity began to decline after mid-1939, as the outbreak of the war in Europe made the commercial position of Shanghai progressively less secure. See "Regulation of Industrial Conditions", 1939, p.33, and 1940, p.38, loc.cit.

88. Similarly, it is likely that many workers were displaced by the previous Sino-Japanese conflict in Shanghai in the spring of 1932.
89. 'Report of the Child Labour Commission', part 1, loc.cit.
90. A detailed description of the process of decay caused by phosphorous poisoning in the case of one worker who subsequently died is given in a memorandum entitled simply 'Phossy-Jaw', typescript, n.d., text indicates ca, 1925, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C). The worker maintained that if he had known more about the dangers of working with phosphorous, he would have sought other employment.
91. See "Visite de petites manufactures de tapis, Pekin", and "Visite d'une fabrique de cloisonnes, Pekin", in 'Visites d'Usines', typescript, 1924, in Voyage de M. Pierre Henry en Chine, loc.cit.
92. Letter Eleanor Hinder to 'My Dears...', Feb. 25, 1933, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (L).
93. "Kwong Song Glass Factory, Hong Kong", in 'Visites d'Usines', typescript, 1924, in Voyage de M. Pierre Henry en Chine, loc.cit.
94. See below, chapter 4.
95. "Regulation of Industrial Conditions", 1937, p.13, loc.cit. The studies were undertaken jointly by the Industrial Section of the Shanghai Municipal Council and the Henry Lester Institute of Medical Research, and appear to have been published by the Chinese Medical Association.
96. Ibid., 1937, p.14.
97. See, for example, the testimony of Dr. Fullerton and Dr. New, 'Minutes of the Child Labour Commission of Shanghai', typescript, 1923-24, loc.cit.
98. For the risk of fire, see, for example, "Regulation of Industrial Conditions", 1939, p.38, loc.cit. The incident at the rubber plant is further dealt with below, in chapter 6.
99. "Regulation of Industrial Conditions", 1937, pp.12-13, and 1938, pp.34-37, loc.cit.

100. The annual totals were:

1934	1788	accidents	(112 fatal)
1935	2301	"	(104 ")
1936	2200	"	(95 ")
1937	1976	"	(58 ")
1938	1513	"	(88 ")
1939	1942	"	(110 ")
1940	1487	"	(79 ")

See "Regulation of Industrial Conditions", 'Accident Report' tables for each year, loc.cit.

101. For example, in 1938 the most accidents occurred in transport and the most fatalities in construction, in 1939 the most accidents and the most fatalities occurred in the textile industry, while in 1940 the most accidents occurred in the machine tool and metal products industry and the most fatalities again in textiles. See Ibid., 1938, pp.33-35, 1939, p.37, and 1940, p.66.

102. Outline of Report on Housing and Social Conditions Among Industrial Workers in Shanghai, by M.T. Tchou, Industrial Department, National Committee of the YMCA of China, Shanghai, May 1926, in the archives of the library at the World's YMCA, Geneva, Box X358.3. The YMCA's own 'model village' project is considered below, in chapter 2.

103. A good description of a typical Chinese house is contained in Life and Labour in Shanghai, Eleanor Hinder, New York, 1944, pp.83-84.

104. Ibid., p.83.

105. Ibid.

106. See below, chapter 6.

107. "Regulation of Industrial Conditions", 1938, p.42, loc.cit.

108. Regulations for Welfare Work for the Commercial Press Employees, n.d., text indicates ca.1924, in dossier G/900/28/1, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.

109. These apparent concessions to workers may not have been honoured in their entirety. Pierre Henry reported dissatisfaction over the failure to provide an eight hour working day on his visit to the Commercial Press in 1924 (see "Commercial Press, Shanghai", in 'Visites d'Usines', typescript, 1924, in Voyage de M. Pierre Henry en Chine, loc.cit.) while in

June 1925 workers at the company struck and formed a union demanding among other things an eight hour day, abolition of contract labour, improved wages, and better treatment for apprentices. See Facing Labor Issues in China, Lowe Ch'uan-hua, op.cit., pp.63-64.

110. For example, the Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Co. provided educational facilities for workers and their families as did the Naigai Wata Kaisha. See 'Minutes of the Child Labour Commission of Shanghai', typescript, 1923-24, loc.cit., testimony of Su, and "Statement by the Naigai Wata Kaishi Ltd.". The BAT Co. offered a savings scheme, though conditions for withdrawal of money deposited were stringent. See Facing Labor Issues in China, Lowe Ch'uan-hua, op.cit., p.133. A discussion of private welfare schemes as they had evolved by the 1930's is contained in Chung-kuo lao-kung wen-t'i (Labour problems in China) by Ch'en Ta, Shanghai, 1933, pp.491-502. Ch'en was a firm advocate of private welfare, but conceded that many employers had yet to see the need for it.
111. Provisional Factory Law, General Regulations, promulgated by Ministerial Order no.223 of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, March 29, 1923. The text of the regulations is given below, in appendix 2.A.
112. See Labour Conditions in China, Cmd.2442, op.cit.
113. Wagner, op.cit., p.101.
114. Ibid.
115. Chesneaux, op.cit., p.308.
116. Wagner, op.cit., p.100.
117. In October 1927 the Peking Government also promulgated a new set of factory regulations, with provision for inspection and enforcement, but as the Government was shortly overthrown these regulations were not put to the test.
118. The principle items of legislation were: Regulations Governing the Enforcement of Workers Education, promulgated in two stages in 1932 and 1934; Provisional Regulations Governing Minimum Wages for Workers in Government Enterprises, and Minimum Wage Law, promulgated in 1934 and 1936 respectively; and Factory Safety and Health Inspection Regulations, issued in 1935. See Wagner, op.cit., pp.104-105.

119. See below, appendix 2.B.
120. For example, while a regular weekly rest day was stipulated, no provision was made to cover the loss of earnings that this would cause. While the duties of employers to apprentices were set forth, apprentices were prohibited from quitting their employment during this term. The Factory Councils, in their pursuit of greater efficiency in the factory, were to explore the possibility of extending the working day in particular cases. See below, appendix 2.B.
121. Wagner, *op.cit.*, pp.140-141. Payment of medical expenses for sickness or injury contracted on the job was also supposed to be achieved during stage one. In stage two, the emphasis was to be on accident prevention and sanitation, in stage three on hours of work and supplementary education, in stage four on protection for child workers, apprentices and women, and in stage five on further regulation of hours of work and annual leave. Ch'en Ta, in his Chung-kuo lao-kung wen-ti, *op.cit.*, published in 1933, had advocated legislation at a level appropriate to Chinese conditions, seeming not to recognise that this argument could be turned about to justify no legislation at all. See pp.557-58.
122. Wagner, *op.cit.*, pp.141-142.
123. The Chinese Labor Movement, Nym Wales, New York, 1945.
124. Chesneaux, *op.cit.*, chapter 8. Perhaps the most significant Chinese contemporary source on the labour movement is Teng Chung-hsia's Chung-kuo chih-kung yun-tung chien-shih, (Short history of the Chinese working class movement), Peking, 1949, which Chesneaux describes as "...an authoritative source of fundamental importance..." because of the writer's prominent role in the events he describes. Chesneaux is much influenced by Teng's work.

FootnotesChapter 2

1. The most comprehensive account of the work of the YMCA in China is in K. S. Latourette's World Service: a history of the foreign work and world service of the YMCA's of the U.S. and Canada, YMCA, New York, 1957.
2. 'Statement of Returned Laborer Work', May 26, 1920, typescript, by C. C. Shedd, Industrial Department, Wu-Han YMCA, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.1).
3. 'Annual Report for the Year Ending October 31, 1921', by G. A. Fitch, Shanghai YMCA, typescript, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.1).
4. Letter W. W. Lockwood to E. C. Jenkins, June 23, 1921, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.5).
5. The philosophy behind the YMCA's industrial work in China will be discussed in a separate chapter below.
6. The seven factories were: the Yah Zung Safe Factory, the San Yiu Towel Factory, the China Industrial Corporation, the Chi Ming Dye Works, the Commercial Press, the Chung Hwa Book Company, and the Amos Bird Company, which dealt in egg products. No foreign firms were involved in the programme.
7. 'Annual Report for the Year Ending October 31, 1921', by G. A. Fitch, loc. cit.
8. Ibid. : Lectures and films were an important part of this programme. For example lectures were given on subjects such as "The Purpose of the YMCA", "Hygiene", "The Relation between the Laborer and the YMCA", and "Citizen's Morality", while films were shown on the themes "The European War", "The Far East Olympics", "Industry", "A Visit to an American City", and "The Life of Jesus". See the report entitled 'Industrial Department, Secretaries G. A. Fitch and W. S. Chen', typescript, Jan. 1, 1921, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York (R.5).
9. 'Annual Report for the Year Ending October 31, 1921', by G. A. Fitch, loc. cit. This report gives the date of destruction of the hut as June 1921, while a published report records that the hut was burned in the winter of 1920. See A Community Enterprise: Review of the Work of the YMCA of Shanghai for the Year 1921, Shanghai YMCA, 1921, in the archives of the Library of the World's YMCA, Geneva, Box X392.22 (51).

10. 'Annual Report for the Year Ending October 31, 1921', by G. A. Fitch, loc. cit.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. It would appear that this seminar was repeated in the autumn of 1922. See 'Annual Report for 1922', by George A. Fitch, typescript, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (A.)
15. 'Statement of Returned Laborer Work, Industrial Department, Wu-Han YMCA' typescript, May 26, 1920 and 'A Few Hopes and Suggestions for the Development of the Industrial Department Work in Wu Han', typescript, January 1921, both in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.1).
16. Letter E. C. Jenkins to Fletcher Brockman, Sept.29, 1921, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.4).
17. Ibid.
18. Letter W. W. Lockwood to E. C. Jenkins, April 3, 1921, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.1).
19. Letter David Yui to E. C. Jenkins, May 27, 1921, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.5).
20. Letter Sherwood Eddy to John Mott, Dec.11, 1922, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.9).
21. Letter W. W. Lockwood to E. C. Jenkins, April 3, 1921, loc.cit.
22. The inherent conceptual difficulties in the YMCA's approach to industrial work will be discussed separately below.
23. See chapter 4 below.
24. 'Report on Industrial and Social Survey', by M. T. Tchou, typescript, December 1922, in the archives of the Library of the World's YMCA, Geneva, Box X358.3.
25. A sample questionnaire is attached to the report sent in by C. C. Shedd of Wu Han, along with a covering letter C. C. Shedd to Frank Lenz, July 6, 1922, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.6).

26. See report of C. C. Shedd, *ibid.*
27. 'Report for the Eddy Campaign', by J. W. Nipps, typescript, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.6).
28. 'Report on Industrial and Social Survey', by M. T. Tchou, typescript, *loc.cit.*
29. *Ibid.*, p.12.
30. 'Conference on Industrial Work of Local and National Staff', November 28, 1922, typescript, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.9).
31. 'The Social Gospel in China', by Sherwood Eddy, in the Chinese Recorder, February 1923, pp.77-87.
32. *Ibid.*, p.77.
33. 'Report on the Industrial Work of the YMCA's of China: 1923', typescript, in the archives of the Library of the World's YMCA, Geneva, Box X358.3. Others Tchou met included: in the United States, Governor William Sweet, A. H. Lichty, J. B. Matteson, A. B. Minear, Samuel Gompers, A. A. Hyde, W. C. Coleman, Ben Charrington, A. G. Studer, Augustus Nash, Harry F. Ward, F. E. Johnson, Kirby Page, Robert W. Bruere, E. B. Chaffee, Cedrie Long, Spencer Miller, J. N. Sayre, Brewer Eddy, Raymond Robbins, and Mary McDowell; in Britain, Ramsay MacDonald, Arthur Henderson, Lord Haldane, Lady Astor, J. J. Mallon, and Margaret Bondfield. Tchou also attended Sherwood Eddy's 'American Seminar' in London in the summer of 1923.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. 'Report of Fall Trip: Aspects of Co-operation with Various Agencies', by M. T. Tchou, typescript, received April 1924 in the archives of the Library of the World's YMCA, Geneva Box 315(51). The cities visited were: Hangchow, Tsinanfu, Tientsin, Peking, Chefoo, Chengchow, and Wuhan, along with the Chi Ming Shan coal mine.
38. *Ibid.*

39. Letter beginning 'Dear Friends...', by M. T. Tchou, April 13, 1924, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York (R.9).
40. 'Statement on YMCA Industrial Work', by M. T. Tchou, typescript, July 1925, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.12). The cities, approximately in the order in which work was commenced in them, were: Wuhan, Shanghai, Tientsin, Nanking, Tsinan, Chowtsun, Tsingchow, Chengchow, Changsha, Canton, Hangchow, Chefoo, Peking, Mukden, Antung, and Foochow. Industrial work ceased in Nanking after 1922, and Antung had only a summer programme in 1924.
41. Ibid.
42. 'Annual Report for 1925 of T. C. McConnell', typescript, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.11)
43. Ibid.
44. 'Statement on YMCA Industrial Work', July 1925, typescript, loc.cit.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. Outlines of Report on Housing and Social Conditions Among Industrial Workers in Shanghai, by M. T. Tchou, Industrial Department, National Committee of the YMCA of China, Shanghai, May 1926, in the archives of the Library of the World's YMCA, Geneva, Box X358.3.
48. Ibid., p.6.
49. Ibid., p.7.
50. Ibid., p.8.
51. Ibid., p.9.
52. Ibid., p.5.
53. Ibid., p.14.
54. Outlines of Plan for Model Villages for Working People, by M. T. Tchou, Industrial Department, National Committee of the YMCA of China, Shanghai, n.d., in the archives of the Library

of the World's YMCA, Geneva, Box X358.3. As the text indicates that this pamphlet was published after the housing survey above, but before construction of the YMCA Model Village, the date of publication must be 1926.

55. Ibid., p.1.
56. Ibid., p.10.
57. Letter W. W. Lockwood to Fletcher Brockman, Oct. 13. 1926, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.15)
58. Letter J. C. Clark to C. A. Herschleb, Oct. 19, 1926, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.14).
59. The cornerstone of the first house was laid by Dr. Rufus Jones, the noted American Quaker.
60. Shanghai's Model Village: the Pootung Branch of the Shanghai YMCA, publicity handout, n.d., in the archives of the Library of the World's YMCA, Geneva, Box X358.3. Text indicates that the date of publication must be 1928.
61. Letter W. W. Lockwood to Fletcher Brockman, Oct.13, 1926, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.15).
62. Ibid.
63. 'The Model Village Regulations', typescript, received Feb.21, 1928, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York (R.20).
64. The composition of the village 'board' is nowhere given, but it would appear that the board is the same body as the Committee of the Shanghai YMCA in charge of the Pootung Village mentioned in correspondence. "...the Committee is composed of strong men, leaders in Shanghai, the Chairman being Mr. N. L. Han, General Manager of the China Express Company and Treasurer of our National Committee." See letter E. E. Barnett to C. A. Herschleb, April 29, 1929, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.25). This committee was in fact the regular Industrial Committee of the Shanghai YMCA.
65. 'The Model Village Regulations', typescript, loc.cit.
66. Shanghai's Model Village: the Pootung Branch of the Shanghai YMCA, loc.cit.

67. 'The Model Village Activities', typescript, received Feb. 21, 1928, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.20).
68. Industrial Work of the Shanghai YMCA: Anniversary Report, 1935, November 1935, p.9, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, Box 'China: Industrial Work'. Text indicates that the pamphlet was published by the Industrial Department of the Shanghai YMCA, X951.03.
69. 'The Model Village Activities', typescript, loc.cit.
70. "Pootung Model Village Proves Boon to Workers", in The China Press, May 5, 1933, from the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.30).
71. Figures cited from Shanghai's Model Village: the Pootung Branch of the Shanghai YMCA, loc.cit. (1928); "Pootung Model Village Proves Boon to Workers", in The China Press, loc. cit.(1933); and Industrial Work of the Shanghai YMCA: Anniversary Report, 1935, op.cit.
72. "Pootung Model Village Proves Boon to Workers", in The China Press, loc.cit.
73. 'The Model Village Activities', typescript, loc.cit.
74. "Pootung Model Village Proves Boon to Workers", in The China Press, loc.cit.
75. 'The Model Village Activities', typescript, loc.cit.
76. See Shanghai's Model Village: the Pootung Branch of the Shanghai YMCA, /loc.cit., and Industrial Work of the Shanghai YMCA : Anniversary Report, 1935, op.cit.
77. Ibid.
78. Industrial Work of the Shanghai YMCA : Anniversary Report, 1935, op.cit., p.4.
79. 'The Model Village Activities', typescript, loc.cit., and Shanghai's Model Village: the Pootung Branch of the Shanghai YMCA, loc.cit.
80. The population of the Model Village in 1935, with the same number of houses, is given as 88. See Industrial Work of the Shanghai YMCA: Anniversary Report, 1935, op.cit., p.2.

81. "Social Center More Popular than Jessfield", in The China Press, May 12, 1933, from the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.30).
82. Shanghai's Model Village: the Pootung Branch of the Shanghai YMCA, loc.cit.
83. "Formal Opening of Model Villages Scheduled Today", in The China Press, Feb. 29, 1936, from the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.32).
84. Ibid.
85. Extract from a letter to Sidney Gamble, author unknown, enclosed with a letter from C. A. Herschleb to E. E. Barnett, March 28, 1929, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.25).
86. Letter E. E. Barnett to C. A. Herschleb, April 29, 1929, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.25). Barnett was anxious to establish that the YMCA itself made no money out of the undertaking.
87. Letter Eleanor Hinder to Mack Eastman, Dec. 7, 1937, in the archives of the International Labour Office, Geneva, Dossier N/200/1/13/5.
88. Letter John D. Rockefeller to Sherwood Eddy, Jan. 22, 1924, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.10).
89. Letter Sherwood Eddy to Fletcher Brockman, May 8, 1925, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.14).
90. Letter G. T. Schwenning to Sherwood Eddy, Dec. 26, 1925, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.14).
91. Letter Eugene Barnett to Sherwood Eddy, April 12, 1926, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.14).
92. Schwenning's resignation was the first in a series of misfortunes which ultimately contributed to the discontinuation of support from the Rockefeller Foundation. See below.
93. Tchou compiled the 'Report on Industrial and Social Survey', in 1922, Outlines of Report on Housing and Social Conditions Among Industrial Workers in Shanghai in 1926, and The Present-Day Industrial Situation and the Labour Movement in China, also in

1926, as well as writing articles for several journals and drawing up many unpublished internal reports and memoranda.

94. Letter H. A. Wilbur to D. W. Lyon, Nov. 29, 1922, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.9).
95. Letter Eugene Barnett to Sherwood Eddy, April 12, 1926, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.14).
96. Ibid.
97. Letter Pierre Henry to G. T. Schwenning, June 14, 1926, in the archives of the International Labour Office, Geneva, Dossier G/900/28/2.
98. Pierre Henry, in "Oeuvres sociales" - section four of his 'Rapport General sur mon Sejour en Chine', in the archives of the International Labour Office, Geneva, Dossier G/900/28/1, jacket 2.
99. Letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman, Dec. 22, 1926, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
100. Ibid.
101. Shanghai's Model Village: the Pootung Branch of the Shanghai YMCA, op. cit.
102. Letter Mary Dingman to Lelia Hinkley, Aug. 3, 1929, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
103. Ibid.
104. Letter Thomas Tchou to Albert Thomas, April 3, 1932, in the archives of the International Labour Office, Geneva, Dossier RL/13/5/2.
105. Letter Thomas Tchou to Alfred Butler, Dec. 23, 1932, in the archives of the International Labour Office, Geneva, Dossier RL/13/5/2.
106. Letter Eleanor Hinder to J. Pone, June 20, 1934, in the archives of the International Labour Office, Geneva, Dossier N/200/1/13/3.
107. See, for example, Augusta Wagner's study, Labor Legislation in China, completed in 1938.
108. Letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman, Sept. 9, 1929, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G).

109. 'A Statement of the Industrial Work of the YMCA Movement in China with Special Reference to the Rockefeller Fund', typescript, with covering letter J. W. Nipps to C. A. Herschleb dated April 26, 1930, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.25).
110. Ibid.
111. 'A Report of Visits Made During Fall of 1928' by C. H. Lowe and J. W. Nipps, typescript, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.19).
112. Ibid. For example the two secretaries found Nanking to be "...an active and constructive capital in spite of considerable talking about its weaknesses...", while the local authorities were "...seriously carrying out important social reforms, (such) as the consolidation of all charitable institutions in Nanking under the direct control of the Municipal Government."
113. Ibid.
114. Ibid.
115. On the cover of the report of the fall 1928 tour a senior Association official had written : "I hope they get down to some experimental work and not over-itinerate. Don't think JDR [Rockefeller] will recognise value in much of this."
116. Letter from J. W. Nipps to Eugene Barnett, Nov. 15, 1929, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.22).
117. 'Report of the 1930 Special Study of YMCA's of China, summarised edition', typescript, (III-24), in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.24).
118. Building Up the Shanghai YMCA Social Center, July 1931, p.3, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.28). Text indicates that the pamphlet was published by the Industrial Department of the Shanghai YMCA.
119. This is according to Nipps, in his letter to Eugene Barnett of November 15, 1929, loc.cit. In time Lowe became an acknowledged authority on labour matters, writing, among other things , the book entitled 'Facing Labor Issues in China', which was published in 1933.
120. 'A Statement of the Industrial Work of the YMCA Movement in China with Special Reference to the Rockefeller Fund', typescript, loc.cit.

121. Ibid., p.16.
122. Extract from a report on John Nipps by Sherwood Eddy, during his visit to China in the spring of 1930, reproduced in a letter from Gerald Birks to Eugene Barnett, June 19, 1930, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.26).
123. Extract from a conversation between David Yui and Gerald Birks, recorded in Birks' letter to Eugene Barnett of June 19, 1930, loc.cit.
124. Letter C. A. Herschleb to Gerald Birks, Sept. 29, 1930, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.26).
125. The letter expressed appreciation of Nipps' 'faithful and helpful service', and of the 'poise, caution, and judgement' with which he approached industrial problems, and was signed by, among others, J. B. Tayler of Yenching University, Cora Deng and Eleanor Hinder of the National Industrial Committee of the YWCA, and H. D. Lamson of Shanghai Baptist College. The letter was forwarded to the YMCA with a covering note of support by Frank Rawlinson, editor of the Chinese Recorder. The letter, along with the covering note to C. A. Herschleb, dated March 4, 1931, is in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.27).
126. Letter Sherwood Eddy to David Yui, May 8, 1929, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.22).
127. Letter Arthur Packard to Sherwood Eddy, Feb. 10, 1931, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.27).
128. Letter Sherwood Eddy to David Yui, May 8, 1929, loc.cit.
129. 'A Statement of the Industrial Work of the YMCA Movement in China with Special Reference to the Rockefeller Fund', typescript, loc.cit. From mid 1926 to mid 1930 only \$8,200. Mexican, or approximately U.S. \$3,200. was dispensed to local associations, all of this going to Canton, Shanghai, and Foochow, the only branches able to find the money to share costs of industrial work with the National Committee. Most of this went to pay the salaries of local industrial secretaries engaged in particular experiments or pieces of research. This money came from the 'Chinese secretaries half' of the total Rockefeller grant to the YMCA of U.S. \$30,000. over three years. Of this U.S. \$15,000. it is reasonable to assume that the national secretary's salary for three years would not have exceeded \$7,500., even if it had all been drawn, which left \$7,500. for local projects. It is of this \$7,500. that the local associations claimed only \$3,200.

130. Letter W. W. Lockwood to C. A. Herschleb, May 26, 1933, for example, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.29)
131. Industrial Work of the Shanghai YMCA : Anniversary Report, 1935,
op.cit., p.17.

FootnotesChapter 3

1. There is no comprehensive account of the work of the YWCA in China, though the Association's own publications History of the YWCA in China, 1896-1930, YWCA Shanghai, apparently 1931, and The YWCA of China, 1933-47, YWCA Shanghai, Mercury Press, 1947, give a good idea of the kind of activity undertaken. Very few copies of either survive. The former was located in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (X), and the latter in the library of the World's YMCA, Geneva.
2. See below, chapter 8.
3. 'Annual Report, Agatha Harrison, Feb.23, 1921 - March 23, 1922', typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva, (A).
4. Agatha Harrison, by Irene Harrison, London, 1956.
5. Letter W. W. Lockwood to E. C. Jenkins, June 23 1921, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.5/3).
6. Agatha Harrison maintained no particular religious affiliation while working for the YWCA, and when approached to serve on the Bureau of Social and Industrial Research of the International Missionary Council in New York some years later protested that she would feel ill at ease working for such a body as "...in spite of the fact that she has worked with the YWCA and the NCC, she persists in regarding herself as too unorthodox to be called a Christian." A. L. Warnshuis, writing of her to John Mott, goes on to say "...This is slightly a pose, or perhaps I should rather say, she has so long become accustomed to regarding herself in this light that she does not realise how identical her outlook is with that which we call Christian." See letter A. L. Warnshuis to John Mott, April 9, 1930, in the archives of the library of the World Council of Churches, Geneva, (RD.23). Only in 1941 did Agatha Harrison manifest a firm commitment to Christianity when she joined the Society of Friends in London.
7. 'Miss Agatha Harrison's Itinerary While in America', March 11, 1921, typescript in the archives of the library at the Friends Meeting House, London, Agatha Harrison Papers, Temporary Box 50-B. Among the people Harrison met were Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, Mary Anderson, Director of the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labour, and Mrs. Raymond Robbins, of the Women's Trade Union League.

8. Letter Agatha Harrison to Mary Dingman, Nov. 26, 1921, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva, (F).
9. Ibid.
10. 'Minutes, National Committee, YWCA of China, June 16, 1921', in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva.
11. Ibid.
12. 'The Church and Modern Industry', by Helen Thoburn, n.d., text suggests 1923, typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva, (B).
13. Ibid.
14. Letter Agatha Harrison to Mary Dingman, Nov. 26, 1921, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (F). A similar correspondence in the columns of the South China Morning Post had preceded the appointment of the child labour commission in Hong Kong.
15. Letter Agatha Harrison to Mary Dingman, Nov. 26, 1921, loc.cit.
16. See below, chapter 7.
17. 'Report on My Visit to Europe', Nov. 18, 1921, typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (A). Among the enterprises Zung inspected were Lewis's department store and the Port Sunlight factory in Liverpool, a weaving mill of the Tootal Broadhurst Lee group in Manchester, and Debenham's department store and the factories of Peek Frean and Co. and MacFarlane Lang and Co. in London. Apart from individual welfare workers, YWCA staff, and faculty at the London School of Economics, Zung met officials of the Home Office, the Co-Operative Society, the Bermondsey Settlement, the International Women's Suffrage Alliance, the Welfare Workers' Institute, and the 'Residential College for Working Women' - an experiment begun by the British YWCA with the object of "...training leaders among the rank and file." Of this latter Zung remarked, "These students are genuine factory workers, but they are picked ones."
18. 'Report of a Visit to Hong Kong and Canton, by Agatha Harrison, December 1921', typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (A). Among the officials to whom Zung and Harrison appealed for industrial legislation were the Colonial Secretary in Hong Kong, and Mayor Sun Fo of Canton, and Mr. G. Hsu, Minister of Justice of the Southern Government.

19. Ibid.
20. 'Annual Report, Agatha Harrison, Feb. 23, 1921 - March 23, 1923', loc.cit.
21. 'Review of the Industrial Situation, Shanghai, China', Sept. 11, 1922, typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (A).
22. 'Second Interview with Mr. X', Agatha Harrison, typescript, text indicates Nov. 25, 1921 recorded together with the summary of a 'Third Interview with Mr. X', which evidently took place early in January, 1922. In the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva(A).
23. 'Further Stage', typed note recording details of another meeting between Harrison and 'Mr. X' shortly before the Rotary Club was to discuss industrial reform on Feb. 9, 1922. In the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (A).
24. 'Second Interview with Mr. X', giving details of the third meeting as well, typescript, loc.cit.
25. 'Copy of letter sent to the Chairman of the Foreign Mill Owners' Association', Jan. 13, 1922, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (A).
26. 'Meeting with the Committee of the Foreign Mill Owners' Association', Agatha Harrison, date given as Feb. 20, 1922, but text suggests that it should be Jan. 20, 1922, typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (A).
27. Ibid.
28. C. F. Remer of St. John's University and Dr. Henry Hodgkin of the China Continuation Committee also spoke at this meeting. Both were members of the special 'Committee on the Church's Relation to Economic and Industrial Problems' which was preparing a report for the National Christian Conference to be held in May. See 'Annual Report, Agatha Harrison: Feb.23, 1921 - March 23, 1922', typescript, loc. cit.
29. Note entitled only 'March 5th, 1922', typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (F).
30. 'Review of the Industrial Situation, Shanghai, China', Sept. 11, 1922, typescript, loc.cit.
31. 'Minutes, National Committee of China, Oct. 19, 1922, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (A).

32. Letter Agatha Harrison to Mary Dingman, Nov. 26, 1921, loc.cit.
33. Letter Agatha Harrison to Mary Dingman, March 24, 1922, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (F).
34. Letter Lina Willis to Mary Dingman, March 27, 1922, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (F).
35. Constance Smith was Deputy Chief Inspector of Factories at the Home Office.
36. Ms entitled 'Suggestions', attached to letter Agatha Harrison to Mary Dingman, July 22, 1922, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (F).
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. 'Review of the Industrial Situation, Shanghai, China', Sept. 11, 1922, typescript, loc.cit.
40. The first woman to take up this scholarship was Shin Tak-hing, of the Hong Kong YWCA, who left for London in November 1922.
41. 'Review of the Industrial Situation, Shanghai, China', Sept. 11, 1922, typescript, loc.cit.
42. The conference was an assembly of YWCA officials, student members of the Association, and their faculty advisers. 'Findings: Student Workers' Conference, Shanghai and Hangchow, Nov. 1st-10th, 1922', typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (A). There were in 1922, 12 city branches of the YWCA, and 92 branches in schools and colleges. See The YWCA in China, 1922, pamphlet, in the archives of the library of the World Council of Churches, Geneva, Box (W).
43. 'Findings: Student Workers' Conference, Shanghai and Hangchow, Nov. 1st- 10th, 1922', typescript, loc.cit. The 'social creed' of the World Student Christian Federation, which will be considered further in chapter 4 below, called among other things for 'the largest measure of industrial self-government', guaranteed employment, and a limit on wealth that could be inherited. It is doubtful that many of the students in the YWCA, or in the WSCF realised the full implications of the creed. See 'The Church and Modern Industry', Helen Thoburn, typescript, text indicates 1923, loc.cit.

44. 'Findings : Student Workers' Conference, Shanghai and Hangchow, Nov. 1st - 10th, 1922', typescript, loc.cit.
45. Ibid.
46. Dingman's presence is first recorded at a meeting of the National Committee of the Chinese YWCA on Jan. 18, 1923, and her anticipated date of departure is later given as July 13th. See 'Minutes, National Committee of the YWCA of China, Jan. 18, 1923', typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (B), and 'Summary of Recent Events, June 20, 1923', typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva, (F).
47. Chinese Triangles: The YWCA in a Changing China, YWCA, Shanghai, 1924, p.59, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva, (B).
48. See below, chapter 4.
49. Chinese Triangles : the YWCA in a Changing China, YWCA, Shanghai, 1924, loc.cit., p.60.
50. Ibid., p.61. Harrison had also been the mainstay of the YMCA's industrial seminars of 1921/2 and 1922/3, as the YMCA had no qualified staff of its own to take the initiative in such work. See 'Annual Report for 1922' by George A. Fitch, typescript, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York (A).
51. Reference is made to the presence once more in China of Edith Johnson in a memo entitled 'Summary of Recent Events, October 11th, 1923', typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G). Reference is made to Harriet Rietveld's anticipated departure in a memo entitled simply 'Harriet Rietveld, (America)', typescript, text indicates end of 1922, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (B). Lily Haass' anticipated departure is mentioned in Chinese Triangles: the YWCA in a Changing China, YWCA, Shanghai, 1924, loc.cit., p.62.
52. 'Summary of Recent Events, June 20th, 1923', along with 'Suggested Outline of Speech to be Given by Miss Shin at International Working Women's Conference, Cologne, August 1923', typescripts, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva, (F).
53. 'How the Industrial Question was Presented to the National Convention, Hangchow, October 1923', typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G).

54. Chinese Triangles : the YWCA in a Changing China, YWCA, Shanghai, 1924, loc.cit., p. 61.
55. 'Review of the Industrial Situation, Shanghai, China', Sept. 11th, 1922, typescript, loc.cit.
56. Letter John D. Rockefeller to Sherwood Eddy, Jan. 22, 1924, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.10/1).
57. The 'International Committee' of the YMCA in New York represented the American and Canadian YMCA's in their mission work overseas. This was a different entity from the 'World's YMCA', later to have its headquarters in Geneva. It would appear that at this time, as far as foreign mission work was concerned, within the YMCA much of the initiative and direction came from the International Committee in New York, reflecting American predominance in the YMCA movement, while within the YWCA initiative and direction tended to come from the World's YWCA in London, and later in Geneva, reflecting more genuinely international participation. This difference in inspiration, it will be suggested elsewhere, may have been responsible in part for the different degrees of success attained by the two organisations in their industrial programmes. See below, chapter 8.
58. Letter Mary Dingman to Ella MacLaurin, April 11, 1924, also letter 'My dear ...', unsigned, Sept. 12, 1924, probably by Mary Dingman, both in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G).
59. Letter Mary Dingman to Ella MacLaurin, April 11, 1924, loc.cit.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
63. Letter Henry Hodgkin to B. R. Barber, June 25, 1924, and letter E. C. Jenkins to C. W. Harvey, June 26, 1924, both in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.10/1).
64. No records appear to have survived of this meeting, but reference to it is made in the letter beginning 'My dear ...', probably by Mary Dingman, Sept. 12, 1924, loc.cit., and three days later Mary Dingman submitted a budget to C. W. Harvey for the YWCA part of the Rockefeller money based on what the YWCA itself considered to be priorities. See letter Mary Dingman to C. W. Harvey, Sept. 15, 1924, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva, (G).

65. Letter 'My dear ...', probably by Mary Dingman, Sept. 12, 1924, loc.cit.
66. Ibid.
67. Letter Mary Dingman to C. W. Harvey, Sept. 15, 1924, loc.cit.
68. Letter to Agatha Harrison, Feb. 23, 1925, text indicates author was Mary Dingman, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G).
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid.
71. Letter Sherwood Eddy to Fletcher Brockman, May 8, 1925, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.14).
72. 'A Statement of the Industrial Work of the YMCA Movement in China, with Special Reference to the Rockefeller Fund', typescript, with covering letter J. W. Nipps to C. A. Herschleb, dated April 26, 1930, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.25).
73. Letter to Charlotte Niven, unsigned, text indicates author was Mary Dingman, Feb.24, 1925, also letter Mary Dingman to Agatha Harrison, April 30, 1925, both in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva, (G).
74. Ibid.
75. Letter Mary Dingman to 'my dear family and friends', May 24, 1925, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G).
76. Letter Mary Dingman to 'my dear friends', Oct. 9, 1924, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G).
77. Letter Mary Dingman to Charlotte Niven, Feb. 24, 1925, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G).
78. Letter 'F.G.S.' (probably Florence Sutton) to Mary Dingman, May 11, 1925, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G). Approaches were apparently made to a Nora Wynne, and to "... Miss Weatman of Manchester, Miss Batting of Dundee, and Miss Kelly of Debenhams...".

79. 'The Industrial Work of the China YWCA - 1924-1925, as noted by the Office Secretary, Hilda S. Murray', typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G).
80. Soong Mei-ling and Chiang Kai-shek were married in 1927. It would appear that Soong Mei-ling took no further part in the YWCA's industrial work after the collapse of the campaign against child labour, in 1925.
81. Letter Mary Dingman to Agatha Harrison, April 30, 1925, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G).
82. Letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman and Agatha Harrison, Sept. 28, 1926, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C). Zung's married name was Chiu.
83. Letter to Mary Dingman and Agatha Harrison, text indicates the most likely author to be Lily Haass, Oct. 7, 1925, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (V).
84. Letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman, no date, attached to letter apparently from Mary Dingman to Lily Haass and Eleanor Hinder, Nov. 25, 1926, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
85. Letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman, Dec. 29, 1926, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
86. Having returned from a period of industrial training, Rietveld apparently while on furlough in England and the U.S., spent several months at the North China Language School before beginning welfare work in Chefoo in the autumn of 1925. 'The Industrial Work of the China YWCA - 1924-1925, as noted by the Office Secretary, Hilda S. Murray', typescript, loc.cit.
87. Minutes, National Committee, YWCA of China, March 19, 1925, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (B).
88. Letter to Mary Dingman and Agatha Harrison, text indicates the most likely author to be Lily Haass, Oct. 7, 1925, loc.cit.
89. Letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman, Dec. 22, text indicates 1926, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
90. See below chapter 8.
91. Letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman and Agatha Harrison, Sept. 28, 1926, loc.cit.

92. 'The Beginning of the Chapei Centre - Report to the Board, December 21st, 1926', typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid.
95. Concern is repeatedly expressed that the YWCA's purpose not to be 'misunderstood'. See, for example, the report cited immediately above. The Association's attitude to labour and management will be explored more fully in chapter 8.
96. Letter Eleanor Hinder to Mary Dingman, Sept. 15, 1927, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva, (C).
97. "Industrial Developments in YWCA Work", in Green Year Supplement, Oct.20, 1927, No.13, p.12-15. This periodical, "...issued irregularly, several times between October and June.." was "...the English supplement to 'The Green Year', the magazine of the National YWCA of China (name based on literal translation of Young Women's Christian Association)...". An incomplete set of the Green Year Supplement is to be found in the archives of the library at the National Headquarters, YWCA of the United States, New York.(E) The English language 'Supplement' in general reproduced in somewhat reduced form those items in the Chinese publications which it was felt would be of most interest to foreign subscribers, to Association personnel in other countries, and, it may be supposed, to potential benefactors.
98. Green Year Supplement, July-August 1926, p.5, in the archives of the library at the National Headquarters, YWCA of the United States, New York, (E).
99. "Industrial Developments in YWCA Work", in Green Year Supplement, Oct.20, 1927, No.13, p.12, loc.cit.
100. 'YWCA Industrial Secretaries Conference, Aug.29-30, 1927: Tentative Program', typescript, in the archives of the library at the National Headquarters, YWCA of the United States, New York (D).
101. Letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman, Oct.19, 1927, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva, (C).

102. Green Year Supplement, Oct.20, 1927, No.13, p.14, loc.cit.
103. For example, towards the end of the year it was reported that through literacy classes and discussion groups YWCA personnel were in contact with women workers at the social centre of the YMCA Model Village in Pootung, in Chapei near the former YWCA house there, and in the Nanyang and China Merchants tobacco factories. The numbers reached in this way were still small, however - 23 tobacco and cotton workers in Pootung, a 'small group' of silk workers in Chapei, and 'between twenty and thirty' women workers at the other tobacco factories, together with some forewomen at the Nanyang Brothers factory. The YWCA secretary Kyong Bae-tsung was asked in late autumn of 1927 to work part-time for the Department of Labour of the new Kuomintang government of the Municipality of Greater Shanghai, "...to supervise the study of the working conditions of women and children, preparatory to the making of regulation...". See letter Eleanor Hinder to Mary Dingman, Nov.8, 1927, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
104. There was a much greater recognition of the strength of the labour movement as a result of the events of 1925-27. It is ironic that just as the Nationalist Government was consolidating its control and the power of the unions had begun to decline, the YWCA redoubled its efforts to reach the unions. See, for example: letter Eleanor Hinder to Mary Dingman, Sept.15, 1927, loc.cit.; "Industrial Developments in YWCA Work", in Green Year Supplement, Oct.20, 1927, No.13, loc.cit.; and letter Eleanor Hinder to Mary Dingman, Nov.8, 1927, loc.cit. For a consideration of the evolving YWCA attitude to the labour movement, see below, chapter 8.
105. Letter Eleanor Hinder to Mary Dingman, Jan.3, 1927, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C)
106. 'An Account of the Industrial Work of the Shanghai YWCA, 1904-1929' by May Bagwell, n.d., typescript in a folder entitled "YWCA China : History", in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva.
107. See below, chapter 4.
108. Information with respect to hours and rates of pay contained in the surveys is tabulated below in Appendix 1.
109. Green Year Supplement, Nov. 1928, No.17, in the archives of the library at the National Headquarters, YWCA of the United

States, New York (E). This issue contained descriptions of industrial conditions in factories in various parts of the country, and of YWCA work with 'industrial girls'.

110. Green Year Supplement, Jan. 4, 1928, No.14, p.14, in the archives of the library at the National Headquarters, YWCA of the United States, New York (E).
111. 'Workers' Education in Tientsin, China' 1929, by Lydia Johnson, typescript, in the archives of the library of the National Headquarters, YWCA of the United States, New York (C).
112. Ibid., and History of the YWCA in China, 1896-1930, YWCA Shanghai, n.d., text suggests 1931, p.195, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (X).
113. 'Workers' Education in Tientsin, China' 1929, by Lydia Johnson, typescript, loc.cit.
114. History of the YWCA in China, 1896-1930, op.cit., p.195. This was the wage of one of the instructors, probably at Ta Wang, in 1929.
115. 'Workers' Education in Tientsin, China' 1929, by Lydia Johnson, typescript, loc.cit.
116. History of the YWCA in China, 1896-1930, op.cit., p.196/7.
117. Ibid., p.196.
118. Ibid.
119. Ibid., p. 197.
120. Ibid.
121. 'China', typed memorandum noting recent developments in YWCA industrial work, n.d., marked "arrived 12.6.28", in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
122. Letter Cora Deng to Mary Dingman, Oct. 16, 1930, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (J).

123. 'YWCA Industrial Work in China', 1929, by Lily Haass, typescript, in the archives of the library at the National Headquarters, YWCA of the United States, New York, (C).
124. A Few Facts about the Industrial Department and its Work, YWCA, Shanghai, Nov. 1930, printed fact sheet, in the archives of the library at the National Headquarters, YWCA of the United States, New York (B).
125. 'YWCA Industrial Work in China', 1929, by Lily Haass, typescript, loc. cit.
126. A Few Facts about the Industrial Department and its Work, YWCA Shanghai, Nov. 1930, printed fact sheet, loc. cit. The distinction made in this report between 'popular education' and 'mass education' is not made clear.
127. See, for example, the list of publications made available by the National Christian Council (see below, chapter 4) on which the YWCA relied heavily for its Chinese language reading material.
128. A Few Facts about the Industrial Department and its Work, YWCA, Shanghai, Nov. 1930, printed fact sheet, loc. cit.
129. Letter Cora Deng to Mary Dingman, Oct. 16, 1930, loc. cit.
130. A Few Facts about the Industrial Department and its Work, YWCA, Shanghai, Nov. 1930, printed fact sheet, loc. cit. It is evident that these figures may have overlapped to some extent.
131. 'YWCA Industrial Work in China' 1929, by Lily Haass, typescript, loc.cit. The house, ominously, was situated between a workers' village and a graveyard. The absence of local support is given as a cause of the subsequent closure of the centre in 1934. See The YWCA of China, 1933-47, YWCA, Shanghai, Mercury Press, 1947, p. 71, in the library of the World's YWCA, Geneva.
132. 'YWCA Industrial Work in China' 1929 by Lily Haass, typescript, loc.cit.
133. Letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman, Sept. 9, 1929, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
134. 'An Account of the Industrial Work of the Shanghai YWCA, 1904-1929' by May Bagwell, n.d., typescript, loc.cit.

135. Letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman, Sept. 9, 1929, loc. cit.
136. Letter Cora Deng to Mary Dingman, Oct. 16, 1930, loc. cit. The problem of lack of staff also prevented the Association from starting industrial work in Wuchang, as it had hoped.
137. Letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman, Sept. 9, 1929, loc. cit.
138. Letter Cora Deng to Mary Dingman, Oct. 16, 1930, loc. cit.
139. Further consideration is given to this point in chapter 8, below.
140. The YWCA of China, 1933-47, YWCA, Shanghai, Mercury Press, 1947, p. 71, in the library of the World's YWCA, Geneva.
141. 'Toward the End of a Two Year Term: Phases in an Evolution', by Eleanor Hinder, Jan. 1, 1928, typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C). The YWCA's relations with government agencies are given further consideration in Chapter 8, below.
142. Letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman, Sept. 9, 1929, loc. cit.
143. Ibid.
144. The suggestion that the Municipal government would employ Kyong Bae-tsung to organise such a study is made in January of 1928 by Eleanor Hinder, in 'Toward the End of a Two Year Term: Phases in an Evolution', typescript, loc. cit. However, it would appear from later correspondence that Kyong did not in fact undertake this task, and remained instead with the YWCA. See letter Eleanor Hinder to Mary Dingman, April 26, 1928, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
145. 'Progressive Movements in Tientsin, China', 1929, by Lydia Johnson, typescript, in the archives of the library at the National Headquarters, YWCA of the United States, New York (C).
146. See below, chapter 8.
147. Letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman, Sept. 9, 1929, loc. cit.
148. "Why an Industrial Department?", by May-Bagwell, in Green Year Supplement, July 1930, No. 21, p. 10-14, in the archives of the library at the National Headquarters, YWCA of the United States, New York (E). It may be supposed that the decision of

the Industrial Department to incorporate this rather defensive article about their work in the Association's bulletin reflects a feeling that it is necessary to resist the growing conservatism among the Chinese Christian community.

149. Ibid., p.12.
150. 'Toward the End of a Two Year Term: Phases in an Evolution', by Eleanor Hinder, Jan. 1, 1928, typescript, loc.cit.
151. Letter Sherwood Eddy to David Yui, May 8, 1929, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York (R.22).
152. Letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman, Sept. 9, 1929, loc.cit.
153. Letter Arthur Packard to Sherwood Eddy, Feb.10, 1931, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York (R.27).
154. Ibid.
155. Letter Cora Deng to Mary Dingman, Oct. 16, 1930, loc.cit.
156. Ibid. With respect to this project, Cora Deng observes "We have heard unofficially that the YMCA does not want to make the appeal." The YMCA's lack of initiative in industrial matters, here and elsewhere, must be in part responsible for its failure to obtain a renewal of its grant from the Rockefeller Foundation at a time when the other two agencies were successful in this quest.
157. Letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman and Agatha Harrison, Sept.24, 1927, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
158. It would appear that at one stage early in 1929 Cora Deng had decided not to go ahead with her training for industrial work. See letter Mary Dingman to Lily Haass, Jan.25, 1929, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
159. Lily Haass wrote of Cora Deng in the spring of 1929, "After two months travel with her I am more enthusiastic than ever about her personal qualities and her future contribution to industrial work." See letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman and Agatha Harrison, May 16, 1929, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).

160. Letter Cora Deng to Mary Dingman, Oct.16, 1930, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (J).
161. Ibid. Regrettably, neither 'Women and Money' nor any of the other items on economic and labour problems appear to have survived in YWCA archives.
162. Ibid.
163. "A Developing Industrial Program", by Deng Yu-dji and May Bagwell, in Green Year Supplement, May 1931, No.24, p.12, in the archives of the library at the National Headquarters, YWCA of the United States, New York (E).
164. Circular letter beginning 'Dear Fellow Workers...' from Cora Deng, Industrial Department of the National Committee, YWCA, Shanghai, May 8, 1931, in the archives of the library at the National Headquarters, YWCA of the United States, New York (D).
165. "A Developing Industrial Program", by Deng Yu-dji and May Bagwell, in Green Year Supplement, May 1931, No.24, p.13, loc.cit.
166. Circular letter beginning 'Dear Fellow Workers...' from Cora Deng, May 8, 1931, loc.cit.
167. The evolution of the YWCA's attitude toward the trade unions will be considered below, in Chapter 8.
168. Circular letter beginning 'Dear Fellow Workers...' from Cora Deng, May 8, 1931, loc.cit.
169. 'Report of the Third Conference of Industrial Secretaries, YWCA of China', YWCA, Shanghai, typescript, in the archives of the library at the National Headquarters, YWCA of the United States, New York (D). The conference was held from the 19th to the 25th of January 1933; among the guest lecturers was C. H. Lowe, who spoke on 'Industrial Legislation'. From the YWCA itself Maud Russell spoke about 'Workers in Russia'.
170. Ibid., p. 1.
171. See below, chapter 8.
172. 'Report of the Third Conference of Industrial Secretaries, YWCA of China', YWCA, Shanghai, typescript, p.1, loc.cit.

173. Ibid.
174. Ibid., p.2 and 3; p.5.
175. Ibid., p.3 and 4. Obstacles in the way of improved attendance were said to be : "...night work, tiredness, distance, sickness, hours of work too long, busy with home duties, political situation not favourable, weather, poor teaching, marriage, child birth, education not considered important, family attitude unfavourable, family quarrels, period of study too long, and fear for safety in the dark..."
176. Ibid., p. 6.
177. Ibid., p. 9.
178. Ibid., p.10.
179. It is not clear whether these meetings were to be open to the public, or whether they were to be for the benefit of a more limited constituency within the Association.
180. 'Report of the Third Conference of Industrial Secretaries, YWCA of China', YWCA, Shanghai, typescript, loc.cit., p.11.
181. Green Year Supplement, Dec. 1933, No.28, p.17, in the archives of the library at the National Headquarters, YWCA of the United States, New York (E).
182. For example, the high points of the Assembly appear to have been formal lectures given by Gideon Chen (formerly of the National Christian Council's Industrial Commission, now of Yenching University) on 'Trade Unionism', and by a Dr.W.T.Rao on 'Workers' Education'. Ibid.
183. Ibid.
184. Ibid., p.18.
185. Ibid.
186. See The YWCA of China, 1933-47, YWCA, Shanghai, Mercury Press, 1947, p.71, op.cit. and the file 'Classeur: Sections, 1/132, "Social, Industrial, and Public Affairs News Items, Sept.1st, 1937" ', in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva. The specific resolutions with respect to industrial work adopted at the Third National Convention were:

1. That this Convention address the National Government to enforce immediately the articles regarding working hours, health and safety devices, night work, child labour and other protective measures for women workers.
2. That the YWCA should within the next five years have a systematic and organised programme for creating public opinion to support the enforcement of the factory law.
3. Realising that the way for solving the problems of workers is through their own organised effort, the YWCA should be encouraged to create public opinion for supporting the workers in organising themselves.
4. That the YWCA intensify its programme of workers' education as a foundation, but also emphasising group education to help workers to realise and cultivate their own ability to organise to the solution of their own problems.

Ibid.

There also existed at this time the possibility that the World's Committee of the YWCA would meet in China later in 1933, at which time industrial work would have been discussed as a matter of course. Political developments in Europe and in North China prevented the meeting from taking place, however.

187. This article is, in the writer's view, an important indication of how far Cora Deng's political understanding and radical sympathies had progressed. See below, chapter 8.
188. 'Classeur: Sections, 1/132, "Social, Industrial, and Public Affairs News Items, Sept. 1st, 1937" ', loc.cit., and The YWCA of China, 1933-47, YWCA, Shanghai, Mercury Press, 1947, p.70-71, op.cit. Shanghai, Tientsin, and Chefoo had already begun industrial work before 1930. Tsinan and Taiyuan appear to have begun in 1934 and 1935 respectively. With respect to industrial work in 'Hankow', different sources seem to refer to Hankow and Wuchang interchangeably, the commonly used name among foreigners for what are now the WuHan cities then being Hankow. In either Wuchang or Hankow, therefore, industrial work was begun in 1935.
189. 'Classeur: Sections, 1/132, "Social, Industrial, and Public Affairs News Items, Sept. 1st, 1937" ', loc.cit.
190. Letter Cora Deng to Mary Dingman, Oct.16, 1930, loc.cit.
191. For example, in Tientsin in 1931 work is reported to have expanded so as to have embraced a new centre, with a clinic,

among cotton mill workers in Hsiao Liu Chuang, another one among tobacco workers, and classes for a limited number of women who worked at home finishing stockings and making match boxes. In Wusih, a clinic and a bath house were among new facilities offered. It is to be regretted that Cora Deng's most comprehensive report on developments during her tenure as National Industrial Secretary, covering the years 1929 to 1934, has been lost with the passage of time. In a covering letter to the World's YWCA in Geneva, she says of it, "...I wrote about our work since 1929, because since then there has been a great change in the emphasis on the industrial work in the movement here, and I think it is worthwhile to show how these new emphasis (sic) developed in the last few years. It is rather a lengthy report, but there is so much to say and one cannot make things clear without going into some of the details." See letter Cora Deng to C. B. Fox, July 20, 1934, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (L).

192. The YWCA of China, 1933-47, YWCA, Shanghai, Mercury Press, 1947, p.71, loc.cit.
193. Ibid.
194. It may supposed that financial support for industrial work was always more difficult to obtain outside Shanghai. In Tientsin, Lydia Johnson observed in 1931, "...Our work here is developing rather slowly, and is being financed entirely locally by our own Board - which means that no large amounts have been available for demonstration work on a large scale such as in Shanghai where they have had the benefit of the Rockefeller Fund." She notes that priority was being given to a campaign to raise money for a new headquarters building in Tientsin, "...which accounts largely for the slower development of our industrial program here." See letter, Lydia Johnson to Mary Dingman, May 20, 1931, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (J). Apparently the lack of adequate financial support forced suspension of part of the work in Tientsin about 1935. The following account describes the circumstances of one centre's closure, and of its subsequent resurrection.

"...Upon learning the unexpected news of the Board's decision to close down one of the industrial centres... the girls gathered together and decided that they would petition the Board not to do so. Three or four representatives were chosen to go to speak to the Board about it. A letter signed by all of them was sent to their national industrial secretary to help in pushing along their views.

But it was too late, and the centre had to be closed because there was no funds to run it. But the industrial girls persisted and thought and worked. Through these group meetings the girls came to realise that they really can carry part of the work themselves. Finally it was agreed by the Board that they could go ahead and reopen the night school in a different form. So the girls worked many a night in group meetings to plan how they could carry the school themselves. A committee of four was chosen and they were delegated the task of running the school as well as teaching the beginners' classes. A voluntary teacher was secured to help with the advanced classes. So in the beginning of May the night school was reopened with the industrial girls themselves heading it up instead of the paid teachers.

" 'Classeur : Sections, 1/132, 'Social, Industrial, and Public Affairs News Items, Sept. 1st, 1937' ', loc.cit.

Chefoo, where industrial work was begun in the 1920's, is not mentioned as a city where such work was currently being pursued either in Cora Deng's memorandum from the National Committee of May 8, 1931, or in the review of the industrial programme in Green Year Supplement, No.24, published in the same month. By 1933, however, the industrial programme in Chefoo appears to have been revived, as the city sent delegates both to the Industrial Secretaries Conference in January, and to the Industrial Assembly later in the year. See : Circular letter beginning 'Dear Fellow Workers...' from Cora Deng, May 8, 1931, loc.cit.; Green Year Supplement, May 1931, No.24, 'A Developing Industrial Program', by Deng Yu-dji and May Bagwell, p.1-13, loc.cit. 'Report of the Third Conference of Industrial Secretaries, YWCA of China', YWCA, Shanghai, typescript, loc.cit.; Green Year Supplement, Dec.1933, No.28, p.17, loc.cit.

195. See below, chapter 8.

196. It will be argued elsewhere that Chiang Kai-shek recognised in due course the inherently revolutionary nature of the co-operatives and therefore tried to discourage their further growth.

197. 'A letter from Shanghai YWCA Industrial Club Girls to YWCA Industrial Girls in America', Oct.2, 1937, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (N).

198. The YWCA of China, 1933-47, YWCA, Shanghai, Mercury Press, 1947, op.cit., p.72.

199. Ibid.

200. Ibid.
201. Industrial work is mentioned as having continued in Tientsin 'for a time' (Ibid.), but the last report showing any activity there was submitted in 1940. See 'Annual Report, YWCA of China, Sept.1, 1939-Aug.31, 1940', "section A, Education : Industrial Statistics 1939-40 by Cities", typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (S).
202. 'The Social and Industrial Programme of the YWCA in China', May 9, 1939, by Lily Haass, typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (Q).
203. See below.
204. 'Annual Report, YWCA of China, Sept.1, 1939 - Aug. 31, 1940', "section A, Education: Industrial Statistics 1939-40 by Cities", typescript, loc.cit.
205. 'World's YWCA :Report on a Visit to China, by Miss Woodsmall, prepared for the Executive Committee Meeting, June 1941', typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (S).
206. Ibid.
207. The YWCA of China, 1933-47, YWCA, Shanghai, Mercury Press, 1947, op.cit.
208. 'A letter from Shanghai YWCA Industrial Club Girls to YWCA Industrial Girls in America', Oct.2, 1937, loc.cit.
209. "YWCA Faces Effects of War in Shanghai" by Eleanor Hinder, in Green Year Supplement, 1937, p.15. This camp later moved to a site in Brenan Road.
210. Ibid., p.17.
211. Ibid.
212. Ibid., p.16.
213. Ibid., p.18.
214. Ibid., p.17.

215. 'Classeur: Sections, 1/132 "The Refugee Problem - Further Reports from Associations, June 23, 1939" ', in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva.
216. 'A Brief Summary of the YWCA Industrial Camp for Refugee Women and Children', n.d., text indicates 1938, typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (Q).
217. Ibid.
218. 'Classeur : Sections, 1/132 "The Refugee Problem - Further Reports from Associations, June 23, 1939" ' loc.cit. This was the camp in Yu Yuen Road. Of the other two camps, one was that at YWCA Headquarters, and the other is unidentifiable. The refugee centre at the Continental Bank Building, later in Brenan Road, was administered jointly with several Christian agencies.
219. 'A letter from Shanghai YWCA Industrial Club Girls to YWCA Industrial Girls in America', Oct.2, 1937, loc.cit.
220. "YWCA Faces Effects of War in Shanghai", by Eleanor Hinder, in Green Year Supplement, 1937, p.18, loc.cit. Some sixty YWCA Industrial Club girls entered the 'Women Labourers' War Area Service Corps' and accompanied the army to the front to do 'liaison work' between the peasants and soldiers, along with similar groups from Canton and Hankow. In a similar vein, the YWCA later in the war, started a programme to assist soldiers' families in various parts of the country. This programme consisted of mass education, health work, the holding of meetings to boost morale, and extensive case work among young widows and other women. See The YWCA of China, 1933-47, YWCA, Shanghai, Mercury Press, 1947, loc.cit., p.72 and 75.
221. 'Hardly Human Habitation', National YWCA, Chengtu, China, Feb.2, 1943, typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (T).
222. See chapter 4, below.
223. The YWCA of China : Industrial Co-operative Work, YWCA National Committee, Shanghai, n.d. text indicates 1940, pamphlet, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (S).
224. The YWCA of China, 1933-47, YWCA, Shanghai, Mercury Press, 1947, loc.cit., p.75.

225. 'Recent News from the National Committee of the YWCA of China: Industrial Co-operative Work', n.d., text indicates early 1940, typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (S).
226. The YWCA of China : Industrial Co-operative Work, YWCA National Committee, Shanghai, n.d., text indicates 1940, pamphlet, loc.cit.
227. The YWCA of China, 1933-47, YWCA Shanghai, Mercury Press, 1947, loc.cit., p.75.
228. Proposed co-operatives for Kunming and 'four other' interior cities are mentioned in 'Recent News from the National Committee of the YWCA of China: Industrial Co-operative Work', n.d., text indicates 1940, typescript, loc.cit., but are not mentioned in any subsequent reports.
229. 'Annual Report, National Committee YWCA of China, Aug. 1, 1942-Aug.1, 1943: "Mass Education and Industrial Co-operatives" ', typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (T). It is not made clear in this or other documents to which pattern the remaining co-ops conformed.
230. Ibid.
231. Ibid. At the time this report was written, the wool spinning co-op had only 2 outworkers as members of the co-op.
232. No mention is made of the further incorporation of outworkers into the co-ops in the post-war report on the co-operatives included in The YWCA of China, 1933-47, YWCA. Shanghai, Mercury Press, 1947, op.cit.
233. Training for the Chengtu sewing co-op is aid to have lasted only a few weeks, while a period of three months is given as normal in the annual report for 1942/3, and four months seems to have been required at the Penghsien wool-spinning co-op. See respectively : The YWCA of China: Industrial Co-operative Work, YWCA National Committee, Shanghai, n.d., text indicates 1940, pamphlet, loc.cit.; 'Annual Report, National Committee YWCA of China, Aug.1, 1942- Aug.1, 1943: "Mass Education and Industrial Co-operatives" ', typescript, loc.cit.; and 'A Co-operative Venture in Lung Feng Ch'ang (Glorious Abundance Market)', May 27, 1943, typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (T).

234. 'Annual Report, National Committee YWCA of China, Aug.1, 1942-Aug.1, 1943: "Mass Education and Industrial Co-operatives" ', typescript, loc.cit.
235. The YWCA of China : Industrial Co-operative Work, YWCA National Committee, Shanghai, n.d., text indicates 1940, pamphlet, loc.cit.
236. For example, in Kweiyang, where the YWCA organiser was faced with the task of setting up a co-operative to create work, there was regularly a heavy rainfall. Although umbrellas had always been imported from the neighbouring province, all the raw materials necessary for their manufacture - bamboo to make the poles and paper sections, nuts for the oil and shellac, and glue from the hoofs and horns of water buffalo - were available locally. "...Everything seemed possible. It did not require heavy physical labour, women's hands were suited to the delicate spoke-making and fitting of the framework and to the painting of designs - raw materials were at hand." See 'The Umbrella Making Co-operative of the YWCA of Kweiyang', by Josephine Brown, n.d., text indicates early 1942, typescript, in the archives of the library at the National Headquarters, YWCA of the United States, New York (D).
237. In a publicity release in 1940, YWCA officials maintained that the overall purposes of the co-operative movement were :
- 1) to give basic constructive relief to refugees,
 - 2) to help in the patriotic work of production, - meeting China's immense need of goods, and
 - 3) to educate toward good citizenship in a co-operative society. "
- They further observed that the YWCA "...recognises the co-operative as a basic form of mass education educating the members of co-operatives for understanding, participating, and responsible citizenship." Under Chiang Kai-shek, however, it may be supposed that the opportunity to practise responsible citizenship was still a long way off. See 'Recent News from the National Committee of the YWCA of China : Industrial Co-operative Work', n.d., text indicates early 1940, typescript, loc.cit.
238. 'Annual Report, National Committee YWCA of China, Aug.1, 1942-Aug.1, 1943: "Mass Education and Industrial Co-operatives" ', typescript, loc.cit. The theme of the emancipation of working women through participation in the co-operatives is an important one, and is elaborated upon in this document. Two examples are given:

"The Chairman of a certain co-op is a girl who once lost her mind because her husband went to the front and never returned, thus losing her her source of support. When she first entered the co-op training class she wasn't sure that she could support herself. She was illiterate and inarticulate. But being in the co-op she gradually changed her ideas, and her mind came back, and last year she was elected to be the chairman of the co-op. Now she goes out to buy raw materials, and contracts for business, and has the roughest deals with men in the business world, and yet she manages to do it as efficiently and as calmly as an able person. The writer personally witnessed her presiding at their membership meeting at which they divided up their dividends for the year-which amounted to forty thousand dollars for the co-op, and also heard her make a very good report of the work and kind of organisation to a group of highly-educated people including newspaper men who visited the co-op."

"Take for instance another girl who had been badly treated by her ignorant mother. After she freed herself from her opium-smoking husband, and defied the will of her mother (for her) to marry a useless rich man after the word came that her husband had died at the front, and seeing the YWCA advertisement for enrolment of girls to the co-op training class, she joined. She remains to this day the best and quickest worker on the sewing machine, and is elected to be a member of the management committee of the co-op. She says, 'What a joy it is to be a free person.' She also says that since she is so benefitted by the co-op, she is going to devote her whole life to help others to get the same kind of freedom." Ibid.

239. Requests for assistance to set up co-ops (see 'Recent News from the National Committee of the YWCA of China: Industrial Co-operative Work', n.d., text indicates 1940, typescript, loc.cit.) appear not always to have met with a response for this reason. Only two YWCA secretaries seem to have been trained specifically for co-operative work. In general, the city co-operatives - two in Chengtu, one in Chungking, and one in Wusu- were under the supervision of the local YWCA, while those in rural districts - Kweiyang and Penghsien - were run with the advice of the National Committee. See The YWCA of China, 1933-47, YWCA Shanghai, Mercury Press, 1947, op.cit.

240. For example, the limited experience of the Penghsien co-operative with outworker members was not put to use to encourage the incorporation of outworkers into co-operatives elsewhere.
241. 'Annual Report, National Committee YWCA of China, Aug.1, 1942-Aug.1, 1943 : "Mass Education and Industrial Co-operatives" ', typescript, loc.cit. This was especially true among outworkers.
242. 'A Co-operative Venture in Lung Feng Ch'ang (Glorious Abundance Market)', May 27, 1943, typescript, loc.cit.
243. The YWCA of China : Industrial Co-operative Work, YWCA National Committee, Shanghai, n.d., text indicates 1940, pamphlet, loc.cit.
244. 'The Umbrella-Making Co-operative of the YWCA of Kweiyang', by Josephine Brown, n.d., text indicates early 1942, typescript, loc.cit.
245. 'Annual Report, National Committee YWCA of China, Aug.1, 1942-Aug.1, 1943: "Mass Education and Industrial Co-operatives" ', typescript, loc.cit.
246. 'A Co-operative Venture in Lung Feng Ch'ang (Glorious Abundance Market)', May 27, 1943, typescript, loc.cit. It is not made clear who purchased the shares.
247. 'Annual Report, National Committee YWCA of China, Aug.1, 1942-Aug.1, 1943 : "Mass Education and Industrial Co-operatives" ', typescript, loc.cit.
248. Ibid.
249. The YWCA of China, 1933-47, YWCA Shanghai, Mercury Press, 1947, loc.cit., p.76.
250. The visit had evidently been planned for some time. See letter 'Social and Industrial Secretary, World's YWCA' to Cora Deng, Sept.28, 1938, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (P).
251. Lily Haass may have remained in Shanghai to be interned, along with Eleanor Hinder early in 1942, and later released, or indeed she may have left Shanghai much earlier. The last correspondence in the YWCA's Geneva archives authored by Lily Haass in Shanghai is dated May 9, 1939. (Letter Lily Haass to Evelyn Fox, May 9, 1939, loc.cit.)

252. Letter C. B. Fox to Tsai Kwei, June 12, 1939, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (P).
Deng had visited the ILO on her previous trip to Europe in 1930, and had, since 1936 at least, been a member of the ILO's Committee of Experts on Women's Work. See letter C. B. Fox to Maud Russell, Nov. 19, 1936, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (N).
253. Letter 'Social and Industrial Secretary, World's YWCA' to Cora Deng, Sept. 28, 1938, loc.cit.
254. Letter C. B. Fox, to Tsai Kwei, June 12, 1939, loc.cit.
255. Economic Status of Women in Industry in China, with Special Reference to a Group in Shanghai, by Yu-dji Cora Deng, Columbia University Thesis, New York, 1941, typescript, in the library at the National Headquarters, YWCA of the United States, New York.
256. Conversation with Mrs. Katharine Strong, niece of Anna Louise Strong, at the headquarters of the World's YWCA, Geneva, 1974.
257. Letter from Rewi Alley to the writer, Sept. 26, 1975.
258. The YWCA of China, 1933-47, YWCA Shanghai, Mercury Press, 1947, op.cit., p.78.
Industrial work was also revived in Hong Kong, where a programme had been initiated just before the outbreak of World War II. As Hong Kong was under British jurisdiction, however, the history of industrial welfare work there has not been considered here.
259. Ibid., p.80.
260. Ibid., p.78.
261. In 1946, district conferences of 'Mass Education Club girls' were held in Chengtu, Shanghai, and Hong Kong, which were said however to be "...primarily for the training of club leaders." Ibid., p.79.
262. Ibid., p.79.
263. Ibid., p.80.

FootnotesChapter 4

1. 'Review of the Industrial Work of the YWCA, 1921-24', by Agatha Harrison and Florence Sutton, typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G). See also below, Chapter 8.
2. 'The Church and Modern Industry', by Helen Thoburn, n.d. text indicates 1923, typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (B).
3. Christian Industry, March 1, 1924, No. 1, in the archives of the library at the Friends' Meeting House, London, Agatha Harrison papers Temporary Box 50-B. This short news sheet is described as having been "...issued occasionally by the Industrial Commission of the NCC..."
4. 'Review of the Industrial Work of the YWCA, 1921-24', by Agatha Harrison and Florence Sutton, typescript, loc.cit.
5. Ibid.
6. 'First Impressions of the Situation in China, November 1920', by Henry Hodgkin, typescript, attached to letter dated Nov. 24, 1920, Henry Hodgkin Papers, Box W, file 'Letters concerning his work in China, 22.xi.1920-1.vi.1922' in the archives of the library at the Friends Meeting House, London.
7. 'The Church and Modern Industry', by Helen Thoburn, n.d., text indicates 1923, typescript, loc.cit.
8. Ibid. It was apparently only at Coppock's insistence that the industrial question was retained for consideration at the conference.
9. Ibid. Among the members were almost certainly Agatha Harrison, Frank Rawlinson of the missionary journal, the Chinese Recorder, Henry Hodgkin, Gideon Chen, and 'several employers'.
10. Ibid. The conference was attended by students from thirty-seven countries, and included six hundred delegates from China. The resolutions passed were the following:
 - i. Co-operation should be the principle of economic development.

- ii. Economic efficiency should seek the good of society and not the selfish interests of individuals.
- iii. Neither private nor group ownership of capital is absolute. All possessions are a trust from the community.
- iv. Ownership of capital and the receipt of income entails a duty to render some corresponding service to the community.
- v. In accordance with these principles there should be the utmost development of natural resources with as little waste as possible and with the fullest measure of productivity from the labour of each worker.
- vi. There should be the largest measure of industrial self-government with real freedom for the worker and a guarantee of continued service in the industry and maintenance from it.
- vii. Society should take responsibility for seeing that every member has a suitable occupation which will provide for life and health. Special provision should be made for the crippled in mind or body who are unable to work.
- viii. The community should be responsible for the regulations of conditions of labour especially in the case of women and children, and in dangerous trades and also for the steady improvement of standards in these matters.
- ix. There should be strict limitation of the amount of wealth that can be bequeathed.
- x. Women should have economic opportunity equal to that of men.

11. National Christian Conference, Shanghai 1922, Proceedings, NCC, Shanghai, 1922, in the library of the World Council of Churches, Geneva, p.326-28. This leads to the now familiar argument that better seeds and tools can in themselves be the key to a dramatic increase in productivity, and that major social re-organisation is not necessary. The only reference to social relations in the countryside is the statement,

" We believe that it is the duty of the Christian Church to bring home to the landowners of China their duty toward their tenants and their responsibility for the introduction of better methods of agriculture, for the promotion of education, and for the improvement of village life."

The report and recommendations on conditions in agriculture and in handicraft industry, however, may be supposed to have been largely the work of missionary correspondents in the hinterland, rather than of the committee in Shanghai.

12. Ibid., p.329.
13. Ibid., p.330. Failure of handicraft industry 'to develop' in the face of machine competition was attributed to the following causes: "...lack of adequate training of the workers, lack of initiative and ambition on their part, ignorance of new demands, and failure to produce new designs, lack of capital for experiment and improvement, inadequate advertisement, crude tools, production on too small a scale, and ignorance of the principles and methods of co-operation which might, to a considerable extent, be carried out through the guilds." See p.331.
14. Ibid., p.331.
15. Ibid., p.332. The worst evils of domestic industry were found to be : "... the neglect of children, child labour of such a nature as to be beyond control, injuries to health especially during pregnancy, the increase of unsanitary conditions in the home, and the indirect effect upon the wages of the men in the family."
16. Ibid., p.335.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid., p.336.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., p.337-38. The committee understood the essential points of the Draft Conventions adopted by the League of Nations (and later expanded upon by its agency the International Labour Office) to be as follows:
- " i. On Limiting Hours of Work: The adoption of an eight-hour day or a forty-eight hour week was set as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained.
 - ii. On Unemployment : Measures for dealing with and combating unemployment were recommended, and suggestions made for setting up free public employment agencies under the control of a central authority, for insurance schemes, etc.
 - iii. Employment of Women Before and After Childbirth : It was recommended that women should not be permitted to work for six weeks before or after childbirth. The subject of maternity benefits was also discussed.
 - iv. Night Work for Women and Young Persons Under 18 : With the exception of certain trades, women and young persons are not to work between the hours of 11 p.m. and 5 a.m.

- v. Safeguarding the Health of Workers : Protection was planned for workers in dangerous trades, and the establishment of health services and of systems of efficient factory inspection were recommended.
- vi. Child Labour: Fourteen years was set as a minimum age for entering industry. In the cases of India and Japan this was modified to twelve years for the present. See p.337. "

21. Ibid., p.338-39. The Christian principles referred to were:

" The inestimable value of every individual life ; involving the duty of safeguarding the individual from conditions and hours of labour directly injurious to life, and the recognition of the right of the individual to a certain amount of leisure and to opportunities for development and self-expression.

The dignity of all labour, whether skilled or unskilled, that ministers to the common good; involving the right of every worker to a fair reward for labour performed.

The brotherhood of man; involving the conception of co-operation in service, and such mutual relationships in industry as exclude the selfish exploitation of labour by employers and capitalists."

- 22. Ibid., p.462. C. C. Nieh was the owner of the Heng Foong Cotton Mill in Shanghai, and a leading figure in the cotton industry. He was also Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Chinese YMCA. See Annual Report, National Committee of the YMCA of China, 1921, Shanghai, 1921, in the archives of the library of the World's YMCA, Geneva, Box 392.21(51). Harrison also claimed in her address to the Conference to have support for the NCC industrial standard from a Mr. Brooke-Smith of Jardine Mathieson, Mr. C. Arnhold of Arnhold and Co., Mr. G. Okada of Naigai Wata Kaisha, and a Sir Edward Pearce. See p.464-65.
- 23. See below, chapter 8.
- 24. Ibid., p.469. The resolution was passed with a majority of 1189 to 1. See 'The Church and Modern Industry', by Helen Thoburn, n.d., text indicates 1923, typescript, loc.cit.
- 25. 'Report of the Committee on the Church and Industrial and Economic Problems', n.d., text indicates May 10, 1923, typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (F).

26. By early 1923 endorsements for the 'labour standard' had come from the National, Shanghai, Tientsin, and Peking Boards of the YWCA, the Tientsin, and Chefoo Boards of the YMCA, the Kiangsu Synod of the Episcopal Church, and the Chinese Chambers of Commerce of Chefoo and Peking. At a meeting of the Shanghai Missionary Association in November 1922 it was suggested that the standard ought to be applied in determining mission contracts. A decision to do this in respect of its own contracts had already been taken by the YWCA. See 'The Church and Modern Industry', by Helen Thoburn, n.d., text indicates 1923, typescript, loc.cit.
27. See above, chapter 2.
28. 'Report of the Committee on the Church and Industrial and Economic Problems', n.d., text indicates May 10, 1923, typescript, loc.cit. The conference was said to have been attended by 43 delegates from 8 cities.
29. Ibid. Study groups were apparently organised in Canton, Changsha, Chefoo, Hangchow, Hankow, Nanking, Peking, Tientsin, Tsinan, and Wuchang, as well as in Shanghai, though some of them may have been short-lived. Among the 'visitors' were Zung, Tchou, Rawlinson, Agatha Harrison and Mary Dingman of the YWCA, and Rev. G. E. Patton of the NCC.
30. By May 1923, the Committee had published : the Report of Commission II, including the recommendations made on industry at the 1922 conference, in English and Chinese; The Church and Modern Industry by Helen Thoburn, in English and Chinese; Commercial, Financial, and Economic Development by Thomas Tchou, in English and Chinese; and had reprinted the article "Church and Industry" by Sherwood Eddy, in English; and an "...article prepared for Association Progress" by Zung Weitsung, in Chinese. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. 'Summary', typescript, attached to letter Agatha Harrison to Charlotte Niven, June 20, 1923, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva, (F).
33. Ibid.
34. 'Summary of Recent Events, October 11, 1923', typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G). Harrison dropped out in order to return to England in January 1924. Dingman began sitting on the Commission upon her return to

Shanghai in December 1923. The other members of the Industrial Commission were : Rev. C. E. Patton (Chairman); L. T. Chen; Mrs. S. F. Chao; C. L. Bau; Dr. Josephine Lawney; Dr. J. Y. Lee; Rev. E. W. Wallace; Dr. S. M. Woo; Rev. J. M. Yard; and Rev. T. S. Sing. See Report of the Commission on Church Industry, National Christian Council, Shanghai, 1924, published pamphlet in the archives of the International Labour Office, Geneva, Dossier G/900/28/1, jacket 2.

Lord Addington was added to the Commission in the spring of 1924. See letter Mary Dingman to Agatha Harrison, March 12, 1924, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G).

35. Report of the Commission on Church and Industry, loc.cit.
36. 'Recommendations from the Cabinet to the Commission on Church and Industry as Adopted at the Meeting on January 7, 1924', typescript, in the archives of the library at the World's YMCA, Geneva, Box X315(51).
37. Ibid. The bulletin was to be "...issued occasionally by the Industrial Commission of the National Christian Council'. See Christian Industry, No.1, March 1, 1924, in the archives of the library at the Friends' Meeting House, London, Agatha Harrison Papers, Temporary Box 50-B. In fact it appeared spasmodically until about 1927.
38. Christian Industry, No.1, March 1, 1924, loc.cit. For an account of the role of Dame Adelaide on the Child Labour Commission of the Shanghai Municipal Council see below Chapter 7.
39. The questions proposed in the report for consideration in the local conferences are further evidence that the focus of the NCC had yet to shift decisively from the abstract and general to the particular. These were: Social and Personal Religion; The Task of the Church in Industrial Progress; New Motives for Old; The Family Spirit and Co-operation in Industry; Apprenticeships in China; Application of the Three Standards; The Old Civilisation and the New Order. See Report of the Commission on Church and Industry, loc.cit.
40. By May 1924 the Commission had published the following items:
 - Report of Commission II (of 1922)
 - The Social Gospel in China, by Sherwood Eddy
 - The Way of Jesus, by Henry Hodgkin
 - Some Vital Life Problems, by Frank Rawlinson

The Commercial, Industrial, and Economic Development of China, by Thomas Tchou
Report on Industrial and Social Survey, by Thomas Tchou
Changing Industrial Conditions, no author given
Peking Rugs and Peking Boys, by H. C. Blaisdell and C. C. Chu

and in the 'Industrial Reconstruction Series':

An Industrial Program for a Chinese City, no author given
The Church in China and Industrial Problems, no author given
The Church's Labour Standard, no author given
History of the Industrial Revolution and its Consequences,
 by Thomas Tchou
Modern Industry in China, by Zung Wei-tsung
An Interpretation of Modern Industrial Development,
 by Gideon Chen
Methods of Industrial and Social Research and Survey,
 by H. C. Blaisdell
Co-operative Movements, by Thomas Tchou

While it may be supposed that some of these items were published in Chinese as well as in English, there is no clear indication of this, suggesting that the principal readership was still conceived at this time to be among the foreign mission community. Most of the items in the 'Industrial Reconstruction Series' appear to have been quite ephemeral in nature, and all copies of a number of them seem to have disappeared without trace.

See Report of the Commission on Church and Industry, loc.cit.

41. The assumption that reform would be undertaken voluntarily because of a sense of shame on the part of the employer is a common thread running through much Christian thinking on industrial matters in the early 'twenties. The pamphlet also proposed as methods of work the holding of study conferences on particular problems, conferences of employers and employed, conferences of teachers, pastors and similar groups, the establishment of a 'social centre' as a focal point for investigation and welfare work, and the undertaking of specific experiments such as starting a small-scale industry, perhaps on a co-operative basis. See An Industrial Programme for a Chinese City, Industrial Reconstruction Series No.1, National Christian Council, Shanghai, n.d., but probably 1924, in the archives of the International Labour Office, Geneva, Dossier G/900/28/1.
42. For example, the NCC published Peking Rugs and Peking Boys, a study undertaken by H. C. Blaisdell and C. C. Chu in 1923, while another study was apparently in process of being conducted

- by "...Mr. G. A. Parker and his sociological classes..." with respect to thirty factories in Tsinan. See Report of the Commission on Church and Industry, loc.cit.
43. Ibid.
44. 'Summer School Letter', typescript, n.d., text indicates 1924, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G).
45. Ibid. Mary Dingman and Gideon Chen took part in the teaching of the courses. The programme lasted four weeks, and cost \$30. Chinese per student.
46. Report of the Commission on Church and Industry, loc.cit.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid. Of the new budget, however, \$2,500 was allocated to pay Gideon Chen's salary, while other amounts were provided for literature, travelling expenses, and other purposes.
49. See below, chapter 7.
50. 'Report of the Child Labour Commission', in the Shanghai Municipal Gazette, July 19, 1924, p.262, in the archives of the library at the Friends' Meeting House, London, Agatha Harrison Papers, Temporary Box 50-B. For a description of the effects of this disease, see above, Chapter 1.
51. Letter Mary Dingman to Agatha Harrison, May 6, 1924, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G).
52. Letter 'My Dear ...', Sept. 12, 1924, text indicates was written by Mary Dingman, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G).
53. 'The Industrial Work of the China YWCA, 1924-1925, as noted by the Office Secretary, Hilda S. Murray', typescript, text indicates mid-1925, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G).
54. Letter to Dame Adelaide Anderson, Dec.16, 1924, text indicates was written by Mary Dingman, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G).
55. 'The Industrial Work of the China YWCA, 1924-25, as noted by the Office Secretary, Hilda S. Murray', typescript, text indicates mid-1925, loc.cit.

56. Ibid.
57. Ibid.
58. Letter to Dame Adelaide Anderson, Dec.16, 1924, text indicates was written by Mary Dingman, loc.cit.
59. Christian Industry, No.1, March 1, 1924, loc.cit.
60. Of the original chairmen of various sub-committees of the Shanghai Industrial Committee, Zung Wei-tsung was from the YWCA, and Dr. Josephine Lawney from the NCC Industrial Commission, while a Dr. R. Y. Lo, a Miss Morrison, a Mr. Keys, and a Mrs. Anderson do not appear to have any connection with other groups. Ibid. In 1924-25 Edith Johnston of the YWCA seemed to bear the main burden of responsibility for the committee. See 'The Industrial Work of the China YWCA, 1924-1925, as noted by the Office Secretary, Hilda S. Murray', typescript, text indicates mid-1925, loc.cit.
61. 'Annual Report : September 1923-September 1924', by Edith Johnston, typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (B).
62. 'The Industrial Work of the China YWCA, 1924-1925, as noted by the Office Secretary, Hilda S. Murray', typescript, text indicates mid-1925, loc.cit.
63. Ibid. On the opening night there were reported to have been 120 people in attendance, and in the discussion groups an average of from 40 to 50.
64. Letter Mary Dingman to Dame Adelaide Anderson, Feb.26, 1925, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G).
65. 'Toward the End of a Two Year Term : Phases in an Evolution', by Eleanor Hinder, Jan.1, 1928, typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
66. Ibid. The preliminary survey was undertaken under the direction of the Department of Social Research of the China Foundation, successor to J. B. Tayler's 'reconnaissance committee'. See below.
67. Letter Eleanor Hinder to Mary Dingman, Jan.3, 1927, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).

68. 'Toward the End of a Two Year Term: Phases in an Evolution', by Eleanor Hinder, Jan.1, 1928, typescript, loc.cit. This group was started by Eleanor Hinder early in 1927 with the expectation that "...if there comes the rule of the South to the regions of Shanghai outside the Settlement, there will be a need of a liberal thinking group in the Settlement to stir up action." See letter Eleanor Hinder to Mary Dingman, Jan.3, 1927, loc.cit. As the Nanking regime showed its true colours, it would appear that public interest in industrial reform went into decline.
69. 'Report of the Committee on the Church and Industrial and Economic Problems', n.d., text indicates May 10, 1923, loc.cit.
70. 'Memorandum Regarding the Proposed Institute of Social Research in China, Addressed by the Institute of Social and Religious Research to the Industrial Commission of the China National Christian Council', typescript, June 10, 1924, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G).
71. 'The Industrial Work of the China YWCA, 1924-1925, as noted by the Office Secretary, Hilda S. Murray', text indicates mid-1925, typescript, loc.cit.
72. Letter John D. Rockefeller to Sherwood Eddy, Jan.22, 1924, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York (R.10).
73. 'Memorandum Regarding the Proposed Institute of Social Research in China, Addressed by the Institute of Social and Religious Research to the Industrial Commission of the China National Christian Council', typescript, June 10, 1924, loc.cit.
74. Letter Mary Dingman to Charlotte Niven, Dec. 30, 1924, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G). Royal Meeker was formerly head of the Legislative Department of the International Labour Office in Geneva. See letter to Dame Adelaide Anderson, Dec. 16, 1924, text indicates was written by Mary Dingman, loc.cit. It is not clear who else served on the committee, but among those considered were Thomas Tchou, Zung Wei-tsung, Agatha Harrison (by now in England), C. F. Remer of St. John's University, a 'Mr. Sarvis in Nanking', and a Mr. Cressy, none of whom were apparently available for one reason or another. See letter to Lily Haass and Agatha Harrison, Oct.9, 1924, text indicates was written by Mary Dingman, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G).

75. This may be inferred from the skills of those people considered for membership in the group (see above). That the committee proposed to visit a number of cities is evident, though it may be supposed that its travels were curtailed somewhat after the May 30th incident. See letter to Dame Adelaide Anderson, Dec.16, 1924, text indicates was written by Mary Dingman, loc.cit.
76. Letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman, Aug.3, 1926, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
77. Ibid.
78. Letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman and Agatha Harrison, Sept.28, 1926, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
79. 'Memorandum to the British Boxer Indemnity Commission from the Industrial Committee of the National Christian Council Re Institute of Social and Economic Research', typescript, n.d., text indicates 1926, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C). Under the terms of the original Rockefeller grant, it was understood that the Institute, once established, would be financed locally or by other international organisations. See letter John D. Rockefeller to Sherwood Eddy, Jan. 22, 1924, loc.cit. The 'Tayler-Meeker committee' and its successor Institute were permitted to draw up to gold \$5,000. per year for three years; in fact they drew \$11,000., and returned \$4,000. rather inexplicably in the circumstances. Letter Sherwood Eddy to David Yui, May 8, 1929, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.22).
80. 'Memorandum to the British Boxer Indemnity Commission from the Industrial Committee of the National Christian Council Re Institute of Social and Economic Research', typescript, n.d., text indicates 1926, loc.cit. The appeals were made by J. B. Tayler and by the NCC. An appeal to the British Boxer Indemnity Commission for money to support such an Institute had first been suggested at the Annual Meeting of the National Christian Council in May 1923. See 'Report of the Committee on the Church and Industrial and Economic Problems', n.d., text indicates May 10, 1923, loc.cit.
81. Christian Industry, No.9, Aug.1, 1927, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (21).
82. Letter 'My dear family and friends ...' from Mary Dingman, May 24, 1925, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G).

83. Letter Lily Haass to Agatha Harrison and Mary Dingman, Nov.4, 1925, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
84. 'Minutes, National Committee, YWCA of China', March 19, 1925, the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (B).
85. Letter to Mary Dingman and Agatha Harrison, Sept.19, 1925, text indicates written by Lily Haass, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
86. Letter Lily Haass to Agatha Harrison and Mary Dingman, Nov.4, 1925, loc.cit.
87. Letter John D. Rockefeller to Sherwood Eddy, Jan.22, 1924, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York (R.10).
88. Letter to Mary Dingman and Agatha Harrison, Sept.19, 1925, text indicates was written by Lily Haass, loc.cit.
89. Ibid.
90. Letter Lily Haass to Agatha Harrison and Mary Dingman, Nov.4, 1925, loc.cit.
91. Ibid. It would appear that in the turbulent political circumstances of 1926 these conferences were not in fact held.
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid.
94. Letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman and Agatha Harrison, Oct.30, 1926, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
95. Ibid.
96. Letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman, Dec.22, 1926 in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
97. Letter Eleanor Hinder to Mary Dingman, Sept. 15, 1927, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
98. From the Foreward by Lily Haass to the Report of the Conference on Christianising Economic Relations, held under the auspices

of the National Christian Council of China, Shanghai August 18-28, 1927, NCC Shanghai, 1927, p.2, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (X).

99. Among the delegates were Henry Hodgkin and Frank Rawlinson of the NCC, Cora Deng, Dju Yu Bao, Eleanor Hinder, Lily Haass, Ruth Hoople, Harriet Rietveld, Tao Ling and Lydia Johnson of the YWCA, and E. E. Barnett and other representatives from the YMCA, along with M. T. Tchou, Gideon Chen, J. L. Buck, Lord Addington and others concerned with problems of economic welfare. Report of the Conference on Christianising Economic Relations, op.cit., p.3-4.
100. Ibid.
101. These papers were given by T. T. Ko, and by Thomas Tchou and Henry Tan respectively. Ibid., p.66, 84-86, and 66-70. Summaries only are presented in the Report.
102. "Some Facts About the Present Industrial Situation in Shanghai", by Eleanor Hinder, in Ibid., p.75-83.
103. Ibid., p.89.
104. Ibid., p.90.
105. Ibid., p.91.
106. These papers were given by Hsu Chen, T. C. Chang, and C. C. Chang respectively. Ibid., p.97, 98-102, 102-103.
107. Ibid., p.106.
108. Ibid.
109. Ibid.
110. Ibid., p.107.
111. Ibid.
112. Ibid., p.109.
113. Ibid., p.111.
114. Ibid., p.116. Protection for women involved prohibition of night work, and of work in dangerous trades, and provision for

absence from work with pay for a month at the time of childbirth.

115. Ibid., p.117.
116. Ibid., p.118-119. Possible sources of money for such a fund were conceived to be:
 "...a) savings by depositors especially interested in the rural co-operative movement and by those who wish to take a Christian viewpoint in the investment of their savings at a reasonable rate of interest, and
 b) special funds."
117. Ibid. It was suggested that local churches might obtain better seeds and other materials and 'multiply them' for distribution in the community. Ibid., p.121.
118. Ibid., p.120-121.
119. Ibid., p.122-123.
120. Ibid., p.123.
121. Ibid., p.122. The following passage from the Li Chi, ch.9, (Li-yun p'ien) was offered in support of the principle 'to each according to his need' : "When universal virtue is practised, the aim is the good of all. The wise and capable are elected, sincerity and friendship are created. Thus man is not only filial to his own parents and not only kind to his own children; the aged are comforted, men are properly employed, the youth is rightly cared for; widowers, widows, orphans and the infirm are all well supported; men and women are tranquilly settled. Resources will not be wasted on earth, but shared by all, not enjoyed by oneself; energy will not be used selfishly, but used for all, not for oneself only. Therefore selfish devices cease, robbery, stealing and all other illegal disturbances disappear, the doors are left wide open and never closed. This is the meaning of the 'great harmony'."
122. Ibid., p.7.
123. Letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman and Agatha Harrison, Sept.24, 1927, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
124. Letter Henry Hodgkin to Charlotte Niven, Nov.4, 1927, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
125. Ibid.

126. By 1927, the NCC had added the following items on industrial problems to those listed for sale in 1924 (see above, footnote 40):

Factory System and Regulation of Labour Conditions by
National and International Laws
Brief History of Factory Legislation in the United Kingdom
An Industrial Miracle and How it Happened
Christianity and Industry in China
Shanghai Committee on the Church and Industry
Report of Child Labour Commission of Shanghai Municipal
Council
Phosphorous Poisoning in Match Factories in China
The Church and the Economic and Industrial Problems of
China
Labour Day

In addition to these pamphlets, usually ten to twenty pages in length, the following one page broadsheets had been published:

Prohibiting Use of White Phosphorous Movement
What have I to do with Labour Problems?
Church and Labour

All of the above were published in Chinese, while some of the pamphlets were also published in English. See "Bibliography of Publications by the National Christian Council" in The National Christian Council, 1922-27, NCC Shanghai, 1927, p.39-41, in the library of the Friends Meeting House, London. By late 1927 nine editions of the bulletin 'Christian Industry' had also been published, both in English and (separately) in Chinese.

127. Letter Henry Hodgkin to Charlotte Niven, March 6, 1928, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
128. From "The YWCA and the Chinese Labour Movement", by Gideon Chen in a History of the YWCA in China, 1896-1930, YWCA Shanghai, n.d., probably 1931, p.113, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (X).
129. Letter Gideon Chen to Marcy Dingman, Feb.9, 1929, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
130. Letter Mary Dingman to Gideon Chen, Nov.19, 1929, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C). Tayler had first approached Chen about the possibility of his working at Yenching in 1927. See letter Gideon Chen to Mary Dingman Feb.17, 1927, in the archives of the World's YWCA (C).

131. Letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman and Agatha Harrison, May 16, 1929, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
132. Ibid.
133. Letter Gideon Chen to Mary Dingman, Feb. 9, 1929, loc.cit.
134. Letter Mary Dingman to Cora Deng, Nov. 28, 1930, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (J).
135. Letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman, Sept. 9, 1929, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
136. Letter J. B. Tayler to William Paton, Feb. 12, 1930, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (114).
137. Ibid.
138. Letter J. B. Tayler to William Paton, April 14, 1930, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (114).
139. See chapter 2 above. Undoubtedly these visits were of considerable benefit to the visitors and did much to increase their awareness of the problems facing China, but the extent to which they had any lasting impact on China is very much open to question.
140. Letter J. B. Tayler to William Paton, April 14, 1930, loc.cit.
141. Letter to J. B. Tayler, May 22, 1930, text indicates written by William Paton, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (114).
142. Letter J. B. Tayler to William Paton, April 14, 1930, loc.cit.
143. Letter J. B. Tayler to William Paton, July 10, 1930, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (114). Tayler was heartened by the fact that Kung was a Christian.
144. Letter J. B. Tayler to William Paton, April 14, 1930, loc.cit.
145. Ibid.
146. Ibid.
147. Ibid. In this connection, Tayler sought to secure "... a thoroughly Christian pottery expert to show what might be possible in putting the industry on to a more scientific basis..."

148. Ibid.
149. Ibid. This Department was set up in the autumn of 1930 to promote research work on industrial and social problems as a result of a decision taken at the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council in 1928. It had its headquarters in Geneva, and was administered by the American Merle Davis and the German Otto Iserland. At one stage Agatha Harrison had been considered for a position with the Department. See letter to John Motto, April 9, 1930, probably from William Paton, in the archives of the World Council of Churches (RD 23) Geneva.
150. It would appear that the Department's directors, Davis and Iserland, decided to limit their assistance to Tayler to "...finding the technical experts he needs...", feeling that criticism of their new bureau by various continental mission bodies prescribed "...caution in accepting as one of our first tasks a project that apparently opens itself so wide to criticism as this proposed enterprise in China." See letter J. Merle Davis to A. L. Warnshuis, Nov. 24, 1930, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (RD 16). The two may have been influenced by the observation of an ILO official that "...certain concrete labour situations in Africa form a more immediate and important field for the attention of our department than China ...". See 'Notes of an Interview with Deputy Director General Alfred Butler and Mr. Phelan at the International Labour Office', Sept. 25, 1930, typescript, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (RD 23).
151. Letter J. B. Tayler to William Paton, May 2, 1930, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (114).
152. Letter J. B. Tayler to R. H. Tawney, May 2, 1930, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (114).
153. Letter J. B. Tayler to William Paton, July 10, 1930, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (114).
154. Papers, Abstracts, and Extracts from Papers Contributed as the Basis of a Discussion to the Conference on the People's Livelihood, Shanghai, Feb. 21-28, 1931, NCC, Shanghai, 1931, p. 2, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (X).
155. Ibid., p. 3.
156. Ibid., p. 4-5.

157. Ibid., p. 4.
158. Ibid., p.iv.
159. 'Report of the Conference on the People's Livelihood, Shanghai, Feb.21-28, 1931', typescript original, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (X). This version is longer and somewhat more complete in certain respects than the published version.
160. Papers, Abstracts, and Extracts from Papers Contributed as the Basis of Discussion to the Conference on the People's Livelihood, Shanghai Feb.21-28, 1931, NCC Shanghai 1931, p.14, op.cit.
161. Ibid., p.65.
162. Ibid.
163. Ibid., p.76.
164. Ibid..
165. Ibid., p.78.
166. Ibid., p.80. The councils' functions were to be as follows:
- " To promote working efficiency
 To improve the relations between the employers and the employees and to settle disputes between them
 To assist in the enforcement of contracts and factory regulations
 To deliberate and decide upon overtime work
 To improve safety and health conditions in the factory
 To propose improvements in factories or workshops
 To make plans for the workers' welfare "
167. Ibid., p.84.
168. Ibid., p.18-19.
169. 'Report of the Conference on the People's Livelihood, Shanghai, Feb.21-28, 1931', typescript version, loc.cit.
170. Papers, Abstracts, and Extracts from Papers Contributed as the Basis of Discussion to the Conference on the People's Livelihood, Shanghai, Feb.21-28, 1931, NCC Shanghai, 1931, op.cit., p.53.

171. Ibid., p.54-55.
172. Ibid., p.55.
173. Ibid.
174. Ibid., p.104.
175. Ibid., p.103-104.
176. Ibid., p.104.
177. Ibid., p.106.
178. Ibid., p.104.
179. Ibid., p.105.
180. Ibid., p.106-107.
181. Ibid., p.107-108.
182. Ibid., p.119.
183. Ibid.
184. Ibid.
185. 'NCC Committee on Christianising Economic Relations: Report and Forecast', by J. B. Tayler, Dec.31, 1930, typescript, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (114).
186. Ibid. Tayler hoped to bring H. J. May, Secretary of the International Co-operative Alliance to China in 1932. This hope was not realised.
187. Ibid.
188. 'Present Position of C.C.E.R. Projects, and Plans for the Immediate Future', typescript, n.d., text indicates written by J. B. Tayler, early spring 1931, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (114).
189. Ibid.
190. Ibid.

191. For example, for the Nankai studies, it was hoped that funds might be forthcoming from the Institute of Social and Religious Research in New York, for Dean's experiments money was hoped for from the International Famine Relief Fund or from the Penney Foundation, and for securing experts in co-operative organisation an appeal was to be made for money to the Agricultural Missions Board. Ibid. Most sources were now likely to have been more difficult to tap because of the impact of the world depression.
192. 'NCC Committee on Christianising Economic Relations: Report and Forecast', by J. B. Tayler, Dec.31, 1930, typescript, loc.cit. In particular, Tayler refers to a Miss Senger, who was attempting to develop the knitting and weaving of wool as a village industry 'in the Northwest'.
193. Papers, Abstracts, and Extracts from Papers Contributed as the Basis of Discussion to the Conference on the People's Livelihood, Shanghai, Feb.21-28, 1931, op.cit., p.iii.
194. 'John Bernard Tayler M.Sc.', curriculum vitae, typescript, in the private papers of J. B. Tayler in the possession of Mrs. Hilda Brown, London.
195. 'Report of Informal Discussion on Rural and Industrial Problems in China', Sept.21, 1931, typescript, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (RD 3).
196. Ibid.
197. Ibid.
198. 'Report of J. B. Tayler 's Trip to Shansi', n.d., text indicates 1932, typescript, in the archives of the World Council of Churches Geneva (114).
199. Ibid.
200. Ibid.
201. Ibid.
202. 'Social and Economic News', issued by the Department of Social and Industrial Research and Counsel, International Missionary Council, April 1933, typescript, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (RD24).

203. 'North China Industrial Service Union', n.d., text indicates Sept. 17, 1932, typescript, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (RD 3). Those present at the inaugural meeting were: Chang Po-ling, and Franklin Ho of Nankai University; Leighton Stuart, Gideon Chen, E. O. Wilson and J. B. Tayler of Yenching University; Gene L. Chiao of Oberlin in Shansi; A. L. Carson of Cheloo University; S. M. Dean and Liu Chao of the North China School of Engineering Practice in Peking; J. A. Hunter of the North China Christian Rural Service Union; W. H. Wong of the National Geological Survey; and Y. T. Tsur, whose affiliation is not given. Apparently the North China Christian Rural Service Union "...had planned to have an industrial section but desired to leave this field to the proposed Industrial Union, co-operating with it as much as possible...". Ibid.
204. Ibid.
205. "Rural Reconstruction in China", by J. B. Tayler, in The Home Messenger, Feb. 1934, p. 26, in the private papers of J. B. Tayler in the possession of Mrs. Hilda Brown, London.
206. 'John Bernard Tayler, M.Sc.', curriculum vitae, typescript, loc. cit.
207. Bibliography of Publications of the National Christian Council of China, March 1, 1934, NCC Shanghai, in the archives of the library of the World's YMCA, Geneva, Box X315.51.
208. See below, this chapter.
209. "Rural Reconstruction in China", by J. B. Tayler, in The Home Messenger, Feb. 1934, p. 26, loc. cit.
210. Ibid. It was also proposed that Yenching and Nankai Universities form a joint 'Industrial Service Institute', possibly with Tayler as its 'foreign secretary'. No record appears to have remained of such an institute, however.
211. Ibid.
212. Ibid.
213. Letter Arthur Packard to Sherwood Eddy, Feb. 10, 1931, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York (R. 27). There was also a further final \$4,000. for the NCC to use to bring 'experts' to China; it does not appear that this sum was drawn.

214. Letter J. B. Tayler to William Paton, April 14, 1930, loc.cit. The Department probably had no money at this stage to give directly, but could have provided technical assistance and personnel, and might have intervened to find money for Tayler elsewhere. Tayler's "...extensive plan ...for establishing subsidiary industries" met with a cool reception, however. The Department's Director, J. Merle Davis, conscious of criticisms made of his new bureau by continental mission bodies, felt "...the need of caution in accepting as one of our first tasks a project that apparently opens itself so wide to criticism from our European friends as this proposed enterprise in China...". See letter J. Merle Davis to A. L. Warnshuis, Nov.24, 1930, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (RD 160).
215. Letter J. B. Tayler to Henry Hodgkin, June 3, 1931, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (114).
216. Ibid.
217. See above, this chapter.
218. Letter Howard Galt to Manchester University Senate, March 7, 1933, in the private papers of J. B. Tayler, in the possession of Mrs. Hilda Brown, London.
219. Letter F. Hawkins to Lena Tayler, April 24, 1934, in the private papers of J. B. Tayler in the possession of Mrs. Hilda Brown, London.
220. "Rural Reconstruction in China", by J. B. Tayler, in The Home Messenger, Feb.1934, p.26, loc.cit.
221. Letter Selina Tayler to the Registrar, University College Bangor, June 1, 1934, in the private papers of J. B. Tayler in the possession of Mrs. Hilda Brown, London.
222. 'John Bernard Tayler, M.Sc.', curriculum vitae, typescript, loc.cit.
223. Ibid.
224. 'Notes on an Interview with Dr. J. B. Tayler of Yenching University', Shanghai June 13, 1937, by J. Merle Davis, typescript, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (RD 3).

225. Letter J. Merle Davis to John Mott, Dec.8, 1936, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (42).
226. Ibid. Davis conceded that some research had been carried out on economic and social matters, but complained that the material had been "...secured in the first instance without reference to the problems of the Church..." Ibid.
227. This survey was to be carried out by Frank Price. Ibid.
228. Ibid. In connection with the Hangchow conference Davis sent out a questionnaire, in response to which some of the most pointed comments came from Augusta Wagner of the Economics Department of Yenching University, later to write Labor Legislation in China.

" Studies in the use of leisure, opium, narcotics, financing the Church, economic organisation of Chinese religious foundations, the pastor's budget, the Church and the co-operative movement, the economic life and organisations of rural and urban families are of academic and administrative interest to the organised Christian movement in China but offer very little light on what seems to me to be the topic of most vital concern, - why Christianity does not take root in China; why it is not accepted; why it is definitely rejected... There do not seem to be any questions raised as to what the Chinese think of Christianity ... you raise the question of the influence of Communism upon Christian thought ... but you raise no question as to its influence on Chinese thought - Christian or non-Christian. I think you would get a good deal more if you did not limit your question to Christian thought." See letter Augusta Wagner to J. Merle Davis, Jan.4, 1937, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (RD 2).

In the event, because of the war between China and Japan, the conference was held at Tambaram, near Madras in India.

229. Letter J. Merle Davis to John Mott, Dec.8, 1936, loc.cit.
230. Ibid.
231. 'Notes on a Conference with Members of the Sociological Faculty at Yenching', June 8, 1937, text indicates written by J. Merle Davis, typescript, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (RD 3). The faculty members agreed that they would:

" ...help a joint study group, as counsellors and advisers, in the setting up of studies and in suggestions for procedure.

...assign to one of their best students a study of the Presbyterian Church and its members in the village of Ching Ho near the university - a centre which has already been the object of intensive studies by the Sociology Department.

...endeavour to assign two of their students, preferably a man and a woman, to studies of Peiping churches in relation to their environment...

...select a village in which a Christian church is located, and would include studies of the church and its environment as a part of their program" Ibid.

One of those present suggested that the Sociology Department might accept research by students into Christian churches and their communities for credit.

232. 'Notes on an Interview with Dr. J. B. Tayler of Yenching University', Shanghai, June 13, 1937, by J. Merle Davis, typescript, loc.cit. Tayler estimated that about \$350 to \$500 in new Chinese currency (or about \$35. to \$50. US) would be necessary to set up each of the co-operatives initially. Davis had earlier promised up to \$750 US for the study to be conducted by Frank Price of Nanking Theological Seminary into the 'Church and its Rural Environment'. Letter J. Merle Davis to John Mott, Dec.8, 1936, loc.cit.
233. See, for example, Nym Wales' China Fights for Democracy for a contemporary account.
234. In areas of heavy fighting, such as Shanghai, many factories had been destroyed.
235. 'The Co-operative Movement in China During the War', by J. B. Tayler, typescript, n.d., text indicates 1941, p.17, in the private papers of J. B. Tayler in the possession of Mrs. Hilda Brown, London.

As this section relies heavily on a series of lengthy articles prepared in typescript by J. B. Tayler, and page numbers are given in the original, these will be reproduced below as an aid to the identification of sources.

236. 'Indusco: The Chinese Industrial Co-operatives', by J. B. Tayler, typescript, n.d., text indicates 1945, p.1, in the private papers of J. B. Tayler in the possession of Mrs. Hilda Brown, London.
237. It would seem that J. B. Tayler may have been instrumental in convincing the Government to go ahead with Indusco, as he records in a letter written after the war, "...it was not until Dr. Kung had flown me down to Hankow from the N.W. and had got my O.K. that he was willing to become Chairman of the Committee and to cough up the millions...". See letter J. B. Tayler to Arthur Hemstock and Laurie Pavitt, Nov.1, 1948, in the private papers of J. B. Tayler in the possession of Mrs. Hilda Brown, London. Tayler was Educational Adviser to Indusco from 1939 until February 1945.
238. 'The Co-operative Movement in China During the War', by J. B. Tayler, typescript, n.d., text indicates 1941, p.18, loc.cit.
239. Ibid.
240. 'China: The Industrial Co-operative Movement', typescript inscribed "ILO Co-operative Information", n.d. text indicates 1939, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (RD 3).
241. 'Chinese Industrial Co-operatives: Statement by Mr. John H. Reisner, Committee on East Asia' probably YMCA New York, typescript, Sept.24, 1940, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (RD 3).
242. 'China: The Industrial Co-operative Movement', typescript, inscribed "ILO Co-operative Information", n.d., text indicates 1939, loc.cit.
243. 'Indusco: The Chinese Industrial Co-operatives', by J. B. Tayler, typescript, n.d., text indicates 1945, p.6, loc.cit.
244. 'Chinese Industrial Co-operatives: Statement by Mr. John Reisner, Committee on East Asia', probably YMCA New York, typescript, Sept.24, 1940, loc.cit.
245. Ibid.
246. 'The Co-operative Movement in China During the War', by J. B. Tayler, typescript, n.d., text indicates 1941, p.30, loc.cit.

247. 'Indusco: The Chinese Industrial Co-operatives', by J.B.Tayler, typescript, n.d., text indicates 1945, p.5-6, loc.cit.
248. 'Chinese Industrial Co-operatives', memorandum by Rewi Alley, Lanchow, Kansu, Nov.27. 1943, in the private papers of J. B. Tayler in the possession of Mrs. Hilda Brown, London.
249. Ibid.
250. Ibid.
251. 'Indusco: The Chinese Industrial Co-operatives', by J.B.Tayler, typescript, n.d., text indicates 1945, p.4, loc.cit.
252. Ibid., p.4-5.
253. Typescript about Indusco, missing p.1-3 and title, text indicates by J. B. Tayler, 1945, p.7-8, in the private papers of J.B.Tayler in the possession of Mrs. Hilda Brown, London.
254. 'The Co-operative Movement in China During the War', by J. B. Tayler, typescript, n.d., text indicates 1941, p.25, loc.cit.
255. Ibid., p.27.
256. Ibid., p.28.
257. Ibid., p.29-30.
258. Ibid., p.30.
259. Non-members were expected to show their "...willingness to assume the responsibility of the society by applying for membership within three months after the profit is declared." Ibid.
260. 'Indusco: The Chinese Industrial Co-operatives', by J.B.Tayler, typescript, n.d., text indicates 1945, p.5, loc.cit.
261. 'The Co-operative Movement in China During the War', by J. B. Tayler, typescript, n.d. text indicates 1941, p.25, loc.cit.
262. 'Indusco: The Chinese Industrial Co-operatives', by J.B.Tayler, typescript, n.d., text indicates 1945, p.6, loc.cit.
263. Ibid.

264. Typescript about Indusco, missing p.1-3 and title, text indicates by J. B. Tayler, 1945, p.7, loc.cit.
265. Ibid.
266. 'The Co-operative Movement in China During the War', by J. B. Tayler, typescript, n.d., text indicates 1941, p.23, loc.cit. For example, the 'H. F. Small-Scale Carding and Spinning Set' for wool, imported from England, and the Ghosh small-scale cotton carding and spinning outfit, imported from India, were both adapted for use by Indusco co-ops. Charles Riggs of the University of Nanking in Chengtu adapted the weave of the Tibetan headdress to the manufacture of rugs, while William Sewell of West China Union University at Chengtu developed new natural dyes, extensively used in the manufacture of army blankets. Ibid.
267. Typescript about Indusco, missing p.1-3 and title, text indicates by J. B. Tayler, 1945, p.6, loc.cit.
268. Ibid., p.7.
269. Ibid.
270. 'The Co-operative Movement in China During the War', by J. B. Tayler, typescript, n.d., text indicates 1941, p.41, loc.cit.
271. Typescript about Indusco, missing p.1-3 and title, text indicates by J. B. Tayler, 1945, p.7, loc.cit.
272. 'The Co-operative Movement in China During the War' by J. B. Tayler, typescript, n.d., text indicates 1941, p.24, loc.cit.
273. Ibid.
274. Typescript about Indusco, missing 1-3 and title, text indicates by J. B. Tayler, 1945, p.7, loc.cit.
275. Ibid., p.8.
276. Ibid., p.10.
277. Ibid.
278. Ibid., p.8.

279. An account of some of the conflicts that developed between Indusco organisers and the Government is given in the typescript about Indusco, missing 1 - 3 and title, text indicates by J. B. Tayler, 1945, loc.cit.
280. Typescript about Indusco, missing 1-3 and title, text indicates by J. B. Tayler, 1945, p.8, loc.cit. Rewi Alley, writing in 1943, saw the main obstacles to Indusco's progress as "... opposition to the movement as conceived ... from the following:
- a. Ambitious groups who wish to control and who do not understand the movement. The activities of such lead to the arrest of persons for dangerous thoughts, which scares away many able co-operative and technical men, thus limiting the amount of work that can be accomplished.
 - b. Landlord and money lender class, who are jealous of economic power in any other hands but their own
 - c. Coastal industrialists, who fear the spread of the movement in the interior will interfere with their investments.
 - d. Ignorant and reactionary elements in the bureaucracy."
- See 'Chinese Industrial Co-operatives', memorandum by Rewi Alley Lanchow, Kansu, Nov.27, 1943, loc.cit.
281. 'The Co-operative Movement in China During the War', by J. B. Tayler, typescript, n.d., text indicates 1941, p.31, loc. cit. Elsewhere, and later, Tayler lists the following conditions for the success of industrial co-operatives: "...government assistance, without control; collaboration with educational and especially technical institutions capable of supplying needed services locally; a strong, competent promotional agency...; in the early stage, much concentrated energy ..." See typescript about Indusco, missing p.1-3 and title, text indicates by J. B. Tayler, 1945, p.11, loc.cit.
282. 'The Co-operative Movement in China During the War', by J. B. Tayler, typescript, n.d., text indicates 1941, p.35, loc.cit.
283. 'Chinese Industrial Co-operatives', memorandum by Rewi Alley, Lanchow, Kansu, Nov.27, 1943, loc.cit.
284. The minerals which Alley suggested could be mined by co-operatives were tin, wolfram, iron, gold, silver, lead, and antimony. Ibid.
285. Ibid.
286. Ibid. Alley's assessment and recommendations form part of a report drawn up for an American army officer.

287. 'Christians and Co-operatives', typescript, n.d., text indicates by J. B. Tayler, 1941, p.4, in the private papers of J.B.Tayler in the possession of Mrs. Hilda Brown, London.
288. Ibid., p.4-6. Tayler illustrates his argument by quoting W. K. H. Campbell's description of peasant reactions to agricultural credit co-operatives: "At first, they survey the results of their own action with half-incredulous amazement, but gradually the conviction is borne in upon them that they are not nearly such helpless creatures as they had always been accustomed to suppose.". Ibid., p.6. Campbell was at one time League of Nations adviser on co-operatives to the Chinese Government.
289. Ibid., p.13. Tayler did concede that the National Christian Council had, somewhat belatedly, created an 'experimental centre for the development of co-operatives' near Chungking, but warned that it would "...take some very difficult and fundamental work in co-operative education and experimentation to make this a real contribution to the co-operative movement instead of just a pet group of co-operatives which a group of Christian workers take pride in calling 'our co-operatives' ...".
290. See below, chapter 6.

FootnotesChapter 5

1. See Article 405 of the Treaty of Versailles, with respect to the ILO.
2. Labor Legislation in China, Augusta Wagner, p.176.
3. See below, this chapter.
4. Wagner, op.cit., p.176. Correspondence in the archives of the ILO reveals that an offer by an employee of the Municipal Council, made at some risk, to supply the Organisation with information on child labour in the International Settlement met with a cool reception. Annotation on the correspondence suggests that ILO officials were principally concerned that the writer might wish to be paid for his information, and therefore ought to be discouraged. See letter J. A. Jackson to R. K. Burge, May 2, 1925, and other correspondence in dossier RL/13/5/1 in the archives of the International Labour Office, Geneva.
5. 'Rapport Général sur mon Séjour en Chine', by Pierre Henry, 1924, typescript, in dossier G/900/28/1 in the archives of the ILO, Geneva. See preamble.
6. Letter Pierre Henry to G. A. Johnston, Dec.3, 1924, in dossier G/900/28/1, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva. Henry records that he met the French Consul in Shanghai, officials of the YMCA and the YWCA and of the Rotary Club, E. Brooke-Smith of Jardine Matheson, E. F. Mackay of Butterfield and Swire, Sterling Fessenden of the Shanghai Municipal Council, Dr. T. Maitland (then engaged on the phosphorous survey for the NCC Industrial Commission), C. C. Nieh of the National Chinese Chamber of Commerce, H. W. Woodhead of the Tientsin and Peking Times, the sociologist Sydney Gamble, and T. C. Blaisdell of Peking University. He also mentions having visited Shanghai Baptist College, Aurora University (Fudan), and Saint John College in Shanghai, and the Union Medical College in Peking.
7. 'Rapport Général sur mon Séjour en Chine', by Pierre Henry, 1924, typescript, loc.cit. See preamble. Elsewhere in his report Henry remarks of the 'industrial' effort of the YM and YWCA : "...le groupe protestante ... se déclare prêt à mener la lutte pour l'amélioration des conditions de travail des

ouvriers chinois, soit par sentiments d'humanité, soit sur l'instigation de capitalistes des pays anglo-saxons qui s'inquiète (je crois à tort) le bon marché de la main d'œuvre chinoise..." See section 3, "oeuvres sociales en général". Henry seems not to distinguish between the YM and YWCA.

8. Letter Pierre Henry to G. A. Johnston, Dec.3, 1924, loc.cit.
9. 'Rapport General sur mon Sejour en Chine', by Pierre Henry, 1924, typescript, loc.cit. See preamble.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid. See section 3, "organisations professionnelles".
13. See above, chapter 1.
14. 'Rapport Général sur mon Séjour en Chine', by Pierre Henry, 1924, typescript, loc.cit. See section 1, "conditions du travail".
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Letter Pierre Henry to Sherwood Eddy, Dec.21, 1925, in dossier G/900/28/2, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.
23. Ibid.
24. See letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman and Agatha Harrison, March 11, 1926, and postscript, and letter Mary Dingman to Lily Haass, Dec.11, 1926, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).

25. 'William Caldwell's Mission', typescript, 1927, in dossier G/900/29/2, the archives of the ILO, Geneva.
26. 'A la Recontre de l'Orient', by Albert Thomas, 1929, typescript, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva. No dossier no.
27. Ibid., p.385.
28. Ibid., p.178.
29. Ibid., p.392.
30. Letter Dame Adelaide Anderson to Alfred Butler, Dec.4, 1929, in dossier XR/25/4/2, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.
31. See above, chapter 1.
32. See below, this chapter.
33. Letter H. H. Kung to Albert Thomas, Feb.26, 1931, in dossier F/1/13/1/0, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.
34. It would seem that the Nanking Government originally proposed that the mission arrive in China in mid-July, at the time of greatest summer heat, which would have reduced its capacity to travel about the country and to work effectively. When Dame Adelaide questioned this, it was proposed that she spend her time at a health resort remote from the scene of enquiry, and it was necessary for Sir John Pratt to point out to the Nanking Government that this would be unlikely to increase its credibility abroad. See letter Dame Adelaide Anderson to Alfred Butler, May 30, 1931, in dossier F/1/13/1/0, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.

The ILO treated Dame Adelaide Anderson scarcely any better, refusing to reimburse her for pre-travel expenses incurred in gathering material likely to be of use in China, and, although she was elderly, obliging her to travel cabin class across the Atlantic (no mean feat in 1931) and to share sleeping accommodation on her train journey across North America. See correspondence in dossier F/1/13/1/0, loc.cit.

35. 'Rapport de M. Pône', typescript, 1931, in dossier F/1/13/1/1, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva. The curriculum for the course embraced the study of the following subjects:

- general labour questions
 - Chinese labour legislation
 - the organisation of factory inspection
 - industrial hygiene
 - prevention of accidents
 - the scientific organisation of work
 - industrial statistics
 - the study of Chinese industry
 - industrial accountability
 - industrial ethic
 - the printing of administrative documents in Chinese
 - the principles of Sun Yat-sen
36. Ibid.
37. "Towards the Establishment of a Factory Inspectorate in China", by C. Pone and Dame A. Anderson, in International Labour Review, Vol.25, May 1932, p.591-604.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. 'Rapport de M. Pone', typescript, 1931, loc.cit.
41. Ibid.
42. Letter C. S. Chan to Alfred Butler, Oct.23, 1933, in dossier F/1/13, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.
43. Wagner, op.cit., p.196.
44. Ibid., p.165-166.
45. See especially the letters Mary Dingman to Lily Haass, Dec.11, 1926, and Lily Haass to Mary Dingman, Jan.13, 1927, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C). Inter alia, Dingman pointed out that it would be difficult in the uncertainty of the prevailing situation to know with which Chinese government a Chinese office of the ILO should have official ties.
46. 'La Question de l'Utilité du Bureau de Chine', by C. S. Chan, typescript, November 1934, in dossier XC/13/1/1, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva. Chan held a Doctorat en Droit from the University of Paris, and had been attached to the Chinese Consulate in Paris, as well as having been a Chinese delegate to the League of Nations before coming to work for the ILO. See

- letter Alfred Butler to Dame Adelaide Anderson, March 5, 1930, in dossier XR/25/4/2, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.
47. 'La Question de l'Utilite du Bureau de Chine', by C. S. Chan, typescript, November 1934, loc.cit.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid. For example, collated special reports were apparently sent to Geneva on the subject of 'the cost of living of Chinese workers', and 'salaries and the length of work', whilst two others were noted as being in preparation at the time of Chan's departure from China in 1934, on 'labour disputes' and 'handicrafts'.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid. Chan mentions having been invited in 1930 to address students of Shanghai Labour University (l'Universite du Travail de Shanghai), and having been able so to impress his audience that, from having been initially hostile to him, they later implored him to become Dean of their Faculty of Social Studies. The university in fact was closed down later.
56. For example, in the report 'Summary of an Official Enquiry on Working and Living Conditions and on the Situation of Industry in China', submitted Dec.22, 1930, officials in Geneva noted that no information was given on the method of enquiry which gave rise to the statistics, and that in some cases the figures appeared 'paradoxical'. Terms such as 'average family', 'average income' were not defined. Subsequent reports submitted by Chan's stand-in, Jennings Wong, suffered from similar deficiencies. See dossier N/200/1/13, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.
57. 'La Question de l'Utilité du Bureau de Chine', by C. S. Chan, typescript, November 1930, loc.cit. Care was necessary, Chan observed, because the Kuomintang was jealous of its control over the labour movement, because some unions were illegal, and because some professional union leaders were concerned only with personal advancement.

58. See memorandum dated Oct. 25, 1930, in dossier N/200/1/13/2. At this time it had been suggested that 'milieux syndicaux' in Europe were proposing to send a study delegation to China to meet their Chinese counterparts, and it had been requested that Chan provide a list of names of 'bona fide' unions. This he did. The list was as follows:

<u>Shanghai:</u>	<u>membership:</u>
China Seamen's Union	21,500
B.A.T. Labour Union	7,783
Commercial Press Labour Union	2,700
 <u>Canton:</u>	
Kwangtung General Labour Union	1,250,000
Federal Labour Union of all Kwangtung	22,732
Chinese Mechanics' Union (Kwangtung branch)	43,000
Canton Tea House Employees Union	16,025
 <u>Tientsin:</u>	
Tientsin General Labour Union	28,406
Tientsin-Pukow Railway Workers Union no.2	990
Yu Yuen Cotton Mill Employees Union	4,763
Tientsin Telephone Co. Labour Union	560
 <u>Peiping:</u>	
Carpet Factory Employees' Union	2,000
Tram Company Employees' Union	1,000
Labour Union of the Dan Wah Match Factory	815
 <u>Nanking:</u>	
Employees' Union of Silk Shops in the East Gate	1,405
Employees' Union of Silk Shops in the North- West Gate	1,552
Wharf Coolies' Union	539

This list was submitted on Nov. 27, 1930.
See dossier N/200/1/13/2, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.

59. See memorandum dated Oct. 14, 1932, in dossier C/1802/1, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.

60. Letter M. T. Tchou to Albert Thomas, April 3, 1932, in dossier RL/13/5/2, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.
61. Letter F. Maurette to Alfred Butler, March 19, 1934, in dossier XT/13/1/1, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.
62. Memorandum by Mack Eastman, May 6, 1936, in dossier XT/13/2/1, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva. Almost all material pertaining to Eastman's stay in China appears to have been transferred at some stage to the personal files of the Director of the ILO which remain confidential.
63. See memoranda in dossier XT/13/3/1 and letter Eleanor Hinder to Alfred Butler, June 2, 1937, in dossier G/900/3/50 in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.
64. See memorandum dated Sept. 16, 1937, in dossier G/900/3/50, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.
65. An anonymous memorandum to the Director dated March 25, 1936 notes: "M. Cheng ... a été recommandé au Directeur par le Gouvernement chinois...et a gardé toute la confiance de ce Gouvernement." See dossier XC/13/1/1. Francois Maurette had earlier observed that it would be necessary to preserve the goodwill of the Chinese Government in choosing a successor to C. S. Chan. See letter F. Maurette to Alfred Butler, March 19, 1934, in dossier XT/13/1/1. This is quite contrary to the impression given in unrestricted correspondence, in which a letter is to be found from the Minister of Industries, K.P.Chen, to Alfred Butler, commending the ILO on its choice of candidate for the job. See letter K.P.Chen to Alfred Butler, Nov. 17, 1934, in dossier N/200/1/3, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.
66. See 'Traduction d'une lettre en chinois de M. Li Ping-heng, premier delegue de la Chine a la conference a Geneva', July 14, 1934. It would appear that Cheng must have for a time occupied this post formerly held by M. T. Tchou. In dossier XC/13/1/1, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.
67. Letter H. F. Cheng to 'Chief of Extra-European Section', Dec. 10, 1934, in dossier C/1802/1, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.
68. Ibid.
69. Letter H. F. Cheng to Director, Oct. 6, 1934, in dossier C/1802/1, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.

70. Letter H. F. Cheng to Director, Sept.21, 1934, in dossier C/1802/1, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.
71. See letters H. F. Cheng to Director, Sept.21, 1934, Oct.6, 1934, and Nov.17, 1934, in dossier C/1802/1, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.
72. 'Report of Trip to Hankow and Changsha, October 16 to November 2, 1935', by H. F. Cheng, typescript, in dossier C/1802/1, and 'Report on Trip to Chinkiang and Wusih, Dec.17, to Dec.28, 1935', by H. F. Cheng, in dossier C/1802/2, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.
73. 'Report on Trip to the Hui Nan Coal Mine, and Anking, June 25th to July 4th 1936', by H.F. Cheng, typescript, and 'Report on Trip to Nantung, 26th to 30th November, 1936', by H. F. Cheng, typescript, in dossier C/1802/2, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.
74. See letter H. F. Cheng to Mack Eastman, Feb.2, 1938, in dossier C/1802/2 in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.
75. See, for example, 'Report on Trip to Hankow and Changsha, October 16 to November 2, 1935', and 'Report on Trip to Chinkiang and Wusih, Dec.17 to Dec.28, 1935', loc.cit. These reports dealt in a summary way with conditions of labour, wages, hours of work, unemployment, industrial conflicts, trade unions, employment agencies, rickshaw coolies, dockers, housing, employers' organisations, factory inspection, welfare, and education, among other subjects. Each report also mentioned individuals with whom there had been 'relations established' or interviews.
76. Both Augusta Wagner and D. K. Lieu were critical of statistics published throughout this period by the Ministry of Industries, not only with respect to hours and wages, but also with respect to such basic items as the extent of capitalisation of an industry, the number of factories, and the number of workers employed. See above Chapter 1.

Mack Eastman, of the Geneva office, however found the reports 'interesting' and 'useful'. See letter Mack Eastman to H.F.Cheng Jan.22, 1936, in dossier C/1802/2, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.

77. 'Report of Trip to Hankow and Changsha, October 16 to November 2, 1935', by H. F. Cheng, typescript, loc.cit.
78. Letter H. F. Cheng to Director, Dec.30, 1935, in dossier C/1802/1, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.
79. See 'Report of Trip to Hankow and Changsha, October 16 to November 2, 1935', by H. F. Cheng, typescript, loc.cit., and 'Report on Trip to Hui Nan Coal Mine and Anking, June 25th to July 4th, 1936', by H. F. Cheng, typescript, loc.cit.
80. 'Report on Trip to Hankow and Changsha, October 16 to November 2, 1935', by H. F. Cheng, typescript, loc.cit.
81. Ibid.
82. Ibid., and letter H. F. Cheng to Director, Oct.7,1936, in dossier C/1802/2, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva. In Hankow, the Dockers' Union is reported as having money collected on its behalf by the Dock Affairs Bureau of the Municipal Government, of which the Bureau would keep 35%, a workers' school would take 25%, the provident fund 15%, and the union itself would receive only 25%. In the provinces named many unions existed on money collected ostensibly to maintain schools for the children of workers, or union libraries.
83. See 'Report on Trip to Chinkiang and Wusih, Dec.17 to Dec.28, 1935, by H.F. Cheng, typescript, loc.cit.
84. 'Report of Trip to Hankow and Changsha, October 16 to November 2, 1935', by H. F. Cheng, typescript, loc.cit.
85. The Chief of the First Section of the Hankow Municipal Government, reported in *ibid.* The Secretary-General of the Hankow Municipal Government similarly observed: "Formerly the Kuomintang was always on the side of the worker. Realising the political and economic conditions, they change their attitude."
86. In *ibid.*
87. Letter H. F. Cheng to Alfred Butler, Dec.4, 1935, referring to the same incident. In dossier C/1802/1, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva. Mack Eastman, of the ILO, Geneva staff, noted that 'misconceptions' about the nature of the ILO were widespread. "The tendency is, or at least used to be, in my country (Canada), for example, to think that the ILO is something

like the Second International, or like the International Federation of Trade Unions." See letter Mack Eastman to H. F. Cheng, Jan.22, 1936, loc.cit.

88. Letter H. F. Cheng to Director, Feb.23, 1937, in dossier C/1802/2 in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.
89. Letter H. F. Cheng to M. Staal, Jan.18, 1938, in dossier C/1802/2, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.
90. This letter was that of March 16, 1939. See dossier C/1802/2, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.
92. See untitled memorandum, n.d., in dossier XC/13/1/1, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva. Probably ca. 1934.
93. For example in 1938 the worker delegate Chu Hsueh-fan wrote to Geneva asking the ILO to send certain information to him care of a temporary address in Hong Kong, where he would be passing through. In particular, he sought details of the 'social legislation programme' of the International Federation of Trade Unions, material on freedom of association, on social services in various countries, and on collective agreements. He emphasised that he sought this information in order to try to "...help the Chinese trade unionists as well as the workers in their struggle for organising and developing the Chinese working class". See letter Chu Hsueh-fan to M. Staal, Nov.18, 1938, in dossier RL/13/3/1, in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.
94. Wagner, op.cit., p.184.
95. See above, chapter 1.
96. See above, chapter 1.
97. Wagner, op.cit., p.187-91.
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid., p.191.
100. "China's Relations with the ILO", by Lowe Chuan-hua, in the China Critic, vol.3, Nov.13, 1930, p.1090-1092, cited in Wagner, op.cit., p.199.
101. All that had been achieved with respect to the enquiry on China

was the preparation of some 1500 file cards. See memorandum dated Aug. 24, 1938 on cancellation of the project, in dossier N/200/1/13/5. It would seem that the China bureau was only officially informed that the enquiry had been abandoned early in 1939. See letter Mack Eastman to H. F. Cheng, March 27, 1939, in dossier N/200/1/13/5 in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.

FootnotesChapter 6

1. See above ,chapter 3.
2. See above, chapter 5.
3. Life and Labour in Shanghai, Eleanor Hinder, p.24.
4. 'Regulation of Industrial Conditions', p.39, in Annual Report of the Shanghai Municipal Council, 1935. Among the few accessible copies of these Reports surviving are those to be found in the Foreign Office Library, London. As will be noted, parts of the Reports for individual years may exist in other collections.
5. See above, chapter 3.
6. See, for example, the Report of Mr. Justice Feetham to the Shanghai Municipal Council, 1931, for a comprehensive review of the status of the Settlement from the foreign perspective. With respect to this question as it affected enforcement of labour legislation, see Labor Legislation in China, by Augusta Wagner, p.150-165, and Hinder, op.cit., p.6-11.
7. For a discussion of these cases see Hinder, op.cit., p.8-9, footnote 5. The proposition was that "...the Congressional will manifest in the District of Columbia Compensation Act..." might thus be enforced upon American citizens operating factories in China.
8. There were similar difficulties over the possible enforcement of the Chinese labour laws by the Second Special District Court in the French Concession.
9. See, for example, the Proceedings of the International Labour Conference, 1919, and subsequent years, the speeches by Chinese delegates.
10. See letter from the British Minister in Peking to Ramsay MacDonald in Labour Conditions in China, Cmd.2442, 1925, p.5.
11. See above ,chapter 5.

12. Participating in the discussions were the Vice Minister and other officials of the Ministry of Industries, the Director of the Bureau of Social Affairs of the Chinese Municipality, the Chairman and the Secretary-General of the Municipal Council of the International Settlement, and the French Consul-General and the Director of Municipal Services of the French Concession, as well as Pone and Anderson. See Wagner, *op.cit.*, p.159.
13. See letter Eleanor Hinder to 'My Dears ...', March 18, 1933, and letter Eleanor Hinder to Mary Dingman, March 20, 1933, both in the archives of the YWCA, Geneva (L). Even the YWCA joined in the protest against this proposed extension of the Council's power.
14. Hinder, *op.cit.*, p.10.
15. Letter Eleanor Hinder to Mary Dingman, April 5, 1935, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (L).
16. See above, chapter 1.
17. 'Survey of 1936', p.1-2, in Annual Report of the Shanghai Municipal Council, 1936, *loc.cit.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. Letter Eleanor Hinder to Camille Pone, June 20, 1934, in dossier N/200/1/13/3 in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.
20. Letter Eleanor Hinder to 'My Dears ...', Feb.25, 1933, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (L).
21. Letter Eleanor Hinder to 'My Dears ...', March 18, 1933, *loc.cit.*
22. 'Regulation of Industrial Conditions', p.2-3, reprint from 1934 Annual Report of the Shanghai Municipal Council, in dossier N/200/13/3 in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.
23. Letter Eleanor Hinder to 'My Dears ...', Feb.25, 1933, *loc.cit.*
24. 'Regulation of Industrial Conditions' 1935, p.42-43, *loc.cit.*
25. *Ibid.*, 1936, p.36.
26. 'Regulation of Industrial Conditions', p.13, reprint from 1937 Annual Report of the Shanghai Municipal Council, in dossier N/200/13/3 in the archives of the ILO, Geneva.

27. Ibid.
28. Ibid., 1934, p.6.
29. Letter Eleanor Hinder to Mary Dingman and Evelyn Fox, Nov.2, 1933 in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (L).
30. 'Regulation of Industrial Conditions', 1935, p.45, loc.cit.
31. See above Chapter 1.
32. 'Regulation of Industrial Conditions', 1935, p.38, loc.cit.
33. This was the view of a Section official expressed in a paper given before the China branch of the Institution of Electrical Engineers on December 6th, 1937. See Ibid., 1937, p.8, loc.cit.
34. Ibid., 1935, p.44.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid., 1937, p.14.
38. Ibid., 1937, p.15.
39. Ibid., 1934, p.1.
40. Letter Eleanor Hinder to 'My Dears ...', Nov.1, 1933, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (L).
41. Hinder, op.cit., p.131.
42. 'Regulation of Industrial Conditions', 1936, p.41, loc.cit.
43. Ibid., 1936, p.40.
44. Ibid., 1936, p.32.
45. Ibid.
46. Letter Eleanor Hinder to Mary Dingman and Evelyn Fox, Nov.2, 1933, loc.cit.
47. 'Regulation of Industrial Conditions', 1936, p.31, and 1937, p.4, loc.cit.

48. A critique of the Bureau's data is given in D. K. Lieu's The Growth and Industrialisation of Shanghai, op.cit., Chapter 3.
49. 'Regulation of Industrial Conditions', 1938, p.43, loc.cit.
50. Ibid. As has been noted, consideration was given in 1940 to the possibility of soliciting information from foreign factories (see *ibid.*, 1940, p.53), but it would appear that no practical steps had been taken in this direction by the time of the Japanese invasion in December, 1941.
51. See above Chapter 1. In 1939 a study was undertaken of the 'foreign' cost of living in Shanghai for similar purposes. See 'Regulation of Industrial Conditions', 1939, p.42, loc.cit.
52. *Ibid.*, 1940, p.44. One enterprising firm in 1940 apparently conducted its own study in order to discover "...the extent to which its women workers are the breadwinners in their families, to see whether their earnings are sufficient ...". See *Ibid.*, p.60.
53. *Ibid.*, 1938, p.60.
54. *Ibid.*, 1939, p.41.
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Ibid.*, 1940, p.57.
57. *Ibid.*, 1940, p.58.
58. *Ibid.*, 1939, p.41.
59. *Ibid.*, 1940, p.57.
60. Hinder; op.cit., p.76.
61. *Ibid.*, p.75-76.
62. 'Regulation of Industrial Conditions', 1940, p.58, loc.cit.
63. *Ibid.*, 1937, p.16.
64. *Ibid.*

65. See *ibid.*, 1937, p.5, and 1940, p.44. Initially, 30 foreign-owned engineering establishments were approached. In one, the existing standard of apprentice training conformed to that required, while eight others expressed interest in the scheme. Some claimed not to employ apprentices on a regular basis. Only preliminary approaches were made to Chinese concerns in 1940.
66. *Ibid.*, 1938, p.40-42.
67. *Ibid.*, 1937, p.4.
68. *Ibid.*, 1939, p.54.
69. *Ibid.*, 1939, p.55.
70. *Ibid.*, 1939, p.58.
71. *Ibid.*, 1940, p.62.
72. *Ibid.*
73. *Ibid.*, 1940, p.63.
74. *Ibid.*, 1939, p.57.
75. *Ibid.*, 1939, p.59, and 1940, p.61.
76. Hinder, *op.cit.*, p.85.
77. *Ibid.*
78. *Ibid.*
79. 'Regulation of Industrial Conditions', 1938, p.4, *loc.cit.*
80. *Ibid.*
81. *Ibid.*, 1940, p.59.
82. Hinder, *op.cit.*, p.90.
83. *Ibid.*, p.89.
84. 'Regulation of Industrial Conditions', 1940, p.59, *loc.cit.*

85. Ibid., 1940, p.59-60.
86. Ibid., 1940, p.60.
87. Hinder, op.cit., p.106.
88. 'Regulation of Industrial Conditions', 1939, p.40, loc.cit.
89. Ibid., 1940, p.43.
90. Ibid., 1939, p.40-41.
91. Ibid., 1940, p.43.
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid., 1939, p.41, and 1940, p.44.
94. Facilities for regular technical education were provided by the China Institute of Industrial Training, organised in 1940. See Ibid., 1940, p.43-44.
95. Hinder, op.cit., p.111.
96. Ibid., p.112.
97. Ibid., p.111.
98. See above this chapter.
99. 'Regulation of Industrial Conditions', 1939, p.37, loc.cit.
100. Hinder, op.cit., p.134.
101. 'Regulation of Industrial Conditions, 1936, p.32, loc.cit.

Footnotes

Chapter 7

1. Labour Conditions in China, Cmd.2442, 1925, p.83.
2. The Chinese Labour Movement, 1919-1927, Jean Chesneaux, p.74, taken from A. Kotenev, Shanghai, Its Municipality and the Chinese, p.306-310.
3. Chesneaux, op.cit., p.74.
4. Labour Conditions in China, op.cit., p.103.
5. China Year Book, 1924, p.655.
6. China Year Book, 1925, p.908-909.
7. "The Strikes of Shanghai", by George Sokolsky, in the North China Herald, Sept.24, 1926.
8. Ibid.
9. North China Herald, April 18, 1925.
10. International Labour Review, vol.20, 1929, p.252.
11. Chesneaux, op.cit., p.215.
12. See, for example, the testimony of Heygate, Armstrong, Han, Mrs. Moh, and Miss Wang, in the 'Minutes of the Child Labour Commission of Shanghai' typescript, 1923-4, in the archives of the library at the Friends' Meeting House, London, Agatha Harrison Papers, Temporary Box 50-B. Testimony shows that the wages paid to children were pitiful enough, ranging from 7c. per day for a 'small girl' at a Chinese cotton mill (McNicol), to 30c. and more per day for child workers at the British-American Tobacco plants (Heygate), apprentice boys were often not paid at all (Chen). Ibid.
13. Letter Agatha Harrison to Lily Haass and Eleanor Hinder, Nov.26, 1926, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
14. Ibid.

15. Report of the Joint Committee of Women's Organisations, Shanghai, 1927, p. 6,
16. In statements to the Child Labour Commission the foreign Cotton Mill Owners' Association of China subsequently affirmed that it would accept legislation that would be applied at least both in the Settlement and in the neighbouring province of Kiangsu, while the Chinese Cotton Mill Owners' Association insisted that it be applied also both in Kiangsu and Chekiang. See 'Report of the Child Labour Commission', in the Shanghai Municipal Gazette, July 19, 1924, in the archives of the library at the Friends' Meeting House, London, Agatha Harrison Papers, Temporary Box 50-B.
17. Report of the Joint Committee of Women's Organisations, op. cit., p. 9.
18. See above, chapter 3.
19. Report of the Joint Committee of Women's Organisations, Shanghai 1927, p.7, loc. cit.
20. Ibid., p.8. The Joint Committee nominated five employers, five persons locally concerned with industrial welfare, and seven 'others', one of whom was J. B. Powell, editor of the China Weekly Review. Six of this total actually served on the Commission. Ibid., p.9.
21. These were: R. J. McNicol, Manager of the Cotton Mills Department of Jardine Matheson, and Chairman of the foreign Cotton Mill Owners' Association of China; G. Okada, Manager Naigai Wata Kaisha; J. S. S. Cooper, Vice-Chairman and Director, Arnhold and Co.; Edwin J. Cornfoot, Silk Merchant, Dyce and Co.; and a Mr. H. Y. Moh, who was apparently an industrialist, but whose affiliation is not given. 'Report of the Child Labour Commission', loc. cit.
22. The Chairman was H. Lipson Ward. The women from the YWCA were Agatha Harrison and Soong Mei-ling, soon to be the wife of Chiang Kai-shek, while the missionary wife was Mrs. L. MacGillivray. The doctor was Miss Mary Stone. Ibid.

23. Agatha Harrison left for England in January 1924, and was replaced by Mary Dingman of the YWCA World's Committee. Mrs. MacGillivray left for Canada and England in May, while Mr. Moh and Miss Stone were able to attend only a few of the meetings. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. 'Minutes of the Child Labour Commission of Shanghai', typescript, 1923-4, loc.cit., address of H. G. Simms, Chairman of the Municipal Council, to the first meeting of the Commission.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid. These thirty witnesses were as follows:

Employers: James Harrof, Manager Ewo Cotton Mills,
Jardine Matheson
Mr. Nishikawa, Managing Director, Toyoda
Cotton Mill
Mr. Nieh, Manager, Gen Foong Cotton Mill
Woo Tao-yin, Manager, Say Lun Silk Filature
Mr. Heygate, Manager, British-American
Tobacco, Pootung
George Su, General Secretary, Nanyang Bros.
Tobacco Co.
Mr. Bau, Ass't. Works Superintendent, Commercial
Press
C. A. Skinner, Manager, New Engineering and
Shipbuilding Works
R. J. McNicol, Manager Ewo Cotton Mills Dep't.,
Jardine Matheson
E. J. Cornfoot, Silk Merchant, Dyce and Co.
Chen Chin-kee, Building Contractor, Shanghai
Land Investment Co.

Police: Inspector Johnston (Yangtsepoo)
Detective Inspector Prince (West Hongkew)
Major Hilton Johnson, Deputy Commissioner of
Police
W. Armstrong, Director of Criminal Intelligence

Medical

Personnel: Dr. Fullerton, St. Elizabeth's Hospital

Dr. Decker, Yangtzepoo Social Centre
 Dr. New, Red Cross Hospital
 Miss Hille, Nantao Institute
 Dr. Lawney, Margaret Williamson Hospital

Social

Agencies: Miss Zung Wei-tsung, YWCA
 Mr. Tsien, Yangtzepoo Social Centre
 Miss Wang, YMCA
 Mr. T. L. Chang, YMCA

Labour

Contractors: Mr. Chang, Contractor to Ewo Mills
 Han Sung-wen, Contractor to a Jessfield waste
 silk filature

Compradore: Mr. Liu, Compradore, Ewo Silk Filature

Architect: G. W. Shipway, Architect and Civil Engineer

Editor: Cao Hwei, Editor, Min Kuo Shih Bao

Worker: Mrs. Moh, ex-silk filature worker, attempting
 to form a union

29. Supplementary material attached to 'Minutes of the Child Labour Commission of Shanghai', typescript, 1923-4, loc.cit. Figures given by the police for the number of children in mills and factories in the International Settlement and Chapei and Pootung, though undoubtedly partial and inaccurate, show a total of 4,485 boys under twelve, foreign count, and 17,958 girls. See Appendix 1, 'Report of the Child Labour Commission', loc.cit.
30. Tours of inspection were arranged, according to the evidence, on Oct. 16th and Nov. 24th, for example, though there were almost certainly others. See 'Minutes of the Child Labour Commission of Shanghai', typescript, 1923-4, loc.cit. The form of enquiry, and the comments registered in response to it on the occasion of one particular visit, are reproduced below.

CHILD LABOUR COMMISSION

Enquiry Form

1. Name of mill, factory, or workshop, address, and district.
- Shanghai Cotton Manufacturing Co., Yangtzepoo Road
2. Nature of work carried on there.
- cotton
3. Nature of premises. - good
 - a. age and conditions: - good
 - b. light and air: - light good, air dust laden
 - c. space: - adequate
 - d. temperature: - hot in spinning room
 - e. sanitary conveniences:- leading out of work rooms, bad odour, pervaded that part of room near lavatory - low wooden partitions -
- very bad air - appalling stench
 - f. suitability for occupation, particularly as regards employment of young persons: - as in no.2 - sympathetic management
 - g. any further remarks: - dining room provided, part-time school in factory for children, special fire appliances provided - medical treatment provided in the factory - supervisor engagement and dismissal - no contract system
4. Employment of children.
 - a. approximate age of youngest child: - 12, Chinese count
 - b. hours of labour: - 12, with break of 15 minutes for meals - no night work for children under 13 - one day's rest in seven
 - c. night work: - yes, but none for those under 13
 - d. nature of work done by children, /under 12, /over 12: - as in other cotton mills
 - e. apparent physical condition of children, /under 12, /over 12: - only fair
 - f. any objections to particular employment of children: - same as no.1 mill

g. any suggested improvements

- in condition: - same as 1:
 limiting age of children
 prohibition of night work
 removal of fluff from air
 better ventilation
 strict attention paid to sanitary
 accommodation
 one day's rest in seven
 limitation of working hours
- Suggest general improvement
 regarding age of children, night
 work, ventilation in certain rooms,
 and sanitation.

See 'Child Labour Commission: Enquiry Form', typescript with comments in ms., in the archives of the library at the Friends' Meeting House, London.

31. Testimony of Heygate, Johnston, Armstrong, Liu, Moh, Tsien, and Zung, 'Minutes of the Child Labour Commission of Shanghai', typescript, 1923-4, loc.cit.
32. Testimony of Harrof, Heygate, Nieh, Tsien, and Chang. Ibid.
33. Testimony of New and Cao Hwei, *ibid.* The latter qualified his position by saying that while children might be allowed to work in the more traditional Chinese workshops at the age of 12, Chinese count, they ought to be debarred from modern factories until they were 15.
34. Testimony of Prince. Ibid.
35. Testimony of Liu. Ibid.
36. Testimony of Heygate, Johnston, Armstrong, Prince, Su, New, and Liu. Ibid.
37. Testimony of Armstrong. Ibid.
38. Testimony of Moh. Ibid.
39. Testimony of Prince, Han, and Harrof. Ibid.

40. James Harrof, Manager of the Ewo Cotton Mills, owned by Jardine Matheson.
41. Testimony of McNicol. Ibid.
42. Testimony of Harrof and Liu. Ibid.
43. Testimony of Woo. Ibid. Apart from this process in the filatures, there were undoubtedly other stages of manufacture or tasks in various industries which were felt to be particularly suited to small children, such as the cleaning of the inside of boilers, on steam launches (testimony of Skinner), and the boxing of matches, (testimony of Zung). There were rumours, neither confirmed nor denied, that small machines were in process of manufacture in the United States for shipment to China and use in factories where child labour was commonplace. See letter Charlotte Niven to Florence Simms, Nov.21, 1922, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (F).
44. Testimony of R. J. McNicol, Manager of the Ewo Cotton Mills Department, Jardine Matheson, and Chairman of the foreign Cotton Mill Owners' Association of China. 'Minutes of the Child Labour Commission of Shanghai', typescript, 1923-4, loc.cit.
45. Testimony of Han and McNicol. Ibid.
46. R. J. McNicol, based on the calculation that in his own mills one-third of the labour employed was under 15 Chinese count, and that for every six children dismissed one adult might also leave. Ibid.
47. Testimony of McNicol, Heygate, and Johnston. Ibid.
48. Testimony of Harrof, McNicol, Prince, Bau, Woo, and Nieh. Ibid.
49. See especially the testimony of McNicol. Ibid.
50. Testimony of Liu, Nieh, Harrof, Nishikawa, and Prince. Ibid.
51. Testimony of Prince. Ibid.
52. J. S. S. Cooper, Vice-Chairman Arnhold and Co. Ibid.
53. Testimony of Zung. Ibid.

54. Testimony of Cao Hwei. Ibid.
55. In the latter category notably were Bau, Moh, Shipway, the representatives of the YM and YWCA, certain of the doctors, and one police witness, Inspector Johnston. Ibid.
56. For example Heygate, McNicol, Nieh, Liu, Nishikawa, Skinner, and the Naigai Wata Kaisha. Ibid.
57. Testimony of Armstrong. Ibid. These were Armstrong and Hilton Johnson.
58. Testimony of Hilton Johnson.
59. See testimony of both Armstrong and Hilton Johnson.
60. Dame Adelaide Anderson on the occasion of the fifteenth meeting. Ibid.
61. 'Report of the Child Labour Commission', loc.cit.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid. For a discussion of this question, see above Chapter 6.
65. Report of the Joint Committee of Women's Organisations, Shanghai 1927, p.12-14, op.cit.
66. Humanity and Labour in China, Adelaide Anderson, London 1928, p. 163-203.
67. North China Herald, June 21, 1924.
68. 'Child Labour in Shanghai', typescript, n.d., memorandum of the Joint Committee of Women's Organisations, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G).
69. Report of the Joint Committee of Women's Organisations, Shanghai 1927, p.60-62, op.cit.
70. 'The Industrial Work of the China YWCA, 1924-1925, as noted by the Office Secretary, Hilda S. Murray', typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G).

71. See: The Times, Oct. 15, 1924; The Manchester Guardian, Feb.13, 1925, The New Statesman, Feb.21, 1925.
72. Letter to Lady Portsmouth, Chairman, Industrial Law Bureau, text indicates from Agatha Harrison, Feb.17, 1925, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G).
73. See 'People to be Invited the "At Home" to Dame Adelaide Anderson and Miss Agatha Harrison, February 3rd, 1925', typescript list, and letter Charlotte Niven to Mary Dingman, Feb.4, 1925, both in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G).
74. See "Meeting of Feb.5th, 1925" in 'Minute Book 1926-26, China and Far East Section', typescript, p.170, in the archives of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, Manchester. There was some controversy over whether or not pressure should be brought to bear outside China to further the campaign, George Sokolsky of the North China Herald, for example, feeling that "... the utilisation of publicity in England, the United States and Japan to affect opinion in China is ill-conceived...". See letter George Sokolsky to Mary Dingman, March 24, 1925, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G). On the other hand, it became clear, for example "... that the British Chamber(of Commerce in Shanghai) would be compelled to take some notice of the Child Labour Report because they had had word from the Manchester Chamber of Commerce...", a fact conceded by the Secretary of the British Chamber himself. See letter Mary Dingman to Dame Adelaide Anderson, Feb.26, 1925, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G)
75. 'The Industrial Work of the China YWCA 1924-1925, as noted by the Office Secretary, Hilda S. Murray', typescript, loc.cit.
76. Report of the Joint Committee of Women's Organisations, Shanghai 1927, p.15-16, op.cit. The firms were:
- British: Jardine Matheson, Butterfield and Swire, Mackenzie and Co., the China Soap Co., Liddel Bros., Arnhold and Co., and the British American Tobacco Co.;
- Chinese: Sincere Co., Commercial Press, the Wing On Co., K. Willey Commercial Co., C. C. Nieh Cotton Mills, and Sung Sing Cotton Spinning and Weaving;

Japanese: Mitsui Bussan Kaisha, Nippon Yusen Kaisha, Osaka Shosen Kaisha, South Manchuria Railway, Mitsubishi Kaisha and Dah Dong Spinning Co.;

American: the Robert Dollar Co., the American Trading Co., the Shanghai Building Co., Standard Oil, and China General Edison.

77. Ibid., Appendix V, 'Extracts from Manifesto, Chinese General Chamber of Commerce, Shanghai', p.63-64.
78. See below this Chapter.
79. Dame Adelaide Anderson in International Industrial Welfare Congress: Report of the Proceedings Held in Flushing, Holland, Zurich, 1925, p.233.
80. North China Herald, April, 18, 1925.
81. Ibid.
82. Ibid., May 9, 1925.
83. Letter Mary Dingman to Agatha Harrison, April 30, 1925, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G). Thirty-four of the signatories were to be found in the current China Who's Who.
84. This point, made in a letter to the North China Herald, was not disputed.
85. Report of the Joint Committee of Women's Organisations, Shanghai 1927, p.21, op.cit.
86. Memorandum of the Joint Committee of Women's Organisations, untitled, text indicates May 28, 1925, typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G).
87. Letter Mary Dingman to Agatha Harrison, April 30, 1925, loc.cit.
88. China Year Book, 1926, p.908.
89. Report of the Joint Committee of Women's Organisations, Shanghai 1927, p.23, op.cit.
90. British Consul-General John Pratt in Labour Conditions in China, op.cit.

91. Report of the Joint Committee of Women's Organisations, Shanghai 1927, p.15, loc.cit.
92. Letter 'Dear Family and Friends ...', by Mary Dingman, May 24, 1925, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G).
93. John Pratt, in Labour Conditions in China, op.cit.
94. Letter Mary Dingman to 'World Colleagues', May 26, 1926, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G).
95. Ibid.
96. 'The Industrial Work of the China YWCA, 1924-1925, as noted by the Office Secretary, Hilda S. Murray', typescript, loc.cit.
97. Peter Finch of the Shanghai Sunday Times, writing in Current History, Vol. 22, August 1925, p.759.
98. In 1925, the Municipal Council was made up of nine members, of whom six were British, two were Americans, and one was Japanese. Council was elected by the Ratepayers, who were the foreign owners of land and buildings; Chinese were not given the vote. The most recent census figures available for the Settlement showed a population of approximately 6,300 Britons, 2,300 Americans, 10,200 Japanese, 3,700 other foreign nationalities, and 760,000 Chinese living in its bounds. See Parliamentary Debates, 1924-25, Vol.185, p.531.
99. Report of the Joint Committee of Women's Organisations, Shanghai 1927, p.63-64, op.cit.
100. Labor Legislation in China, Augusta Wagner, Columbia University Theses, Vol.25, 1938, p.92.
101. See for example, the North China Herald, July 12, 1924, Aug.6 and 7, 1924, Feb.7, 1925, and April 11, 1925.
102. Ibid., April 11, 1925.
103. Ibid., June 6, 1925.
104. Ibid., July 2, 1927. The Herald went on to reason:
 " If the complete industrialisation of China is the only possible solution of China's economic unrest, surely a partial

industrialisation is at least a palliative of her trouble. Some praise must be due to the pioneers who, in the early days, ventured to invest their capital in industrial undertakings, took the sweepings of the labour market, and trained the incompetents into efficient technical workers - cotton spinners, engineers, and constructors of the skyscrapers that astonish the tourist as he sails up the Huangpu. The men who did these things benefitted China in two ways. They provided a livelihood for a large number who would otherwise would have been hard put to it to find daily bread, and in the process conducted an educational work of great value."

105. See the letter of 'Welfare', for example, in the North China Herald, Jan.10, 1925, and that of 'Inquirer', in ibid., April 25, 1925.
106. See for example the letters of Dame Adelaide Anderson and Mrs. L. MacGillivray, in Ibid., March 28, 1925, and that of Fong Sec on April 4, 1925.
107. Letter of Mrs. L. MacGillivray, in Ibid., March 28, 1925.
108. The Theosophical Society, in Ibid., April 11, 1925.
109. John Pratt in Labour Conditions in China, op.cit., p.107.
110. 'Shanghaiander', in the North China Herald, March 28, 1925.
111. 'Old Resident', in Ibid., April 4, 1925.
112. Ibid.
113. Ibid., and Wang Mau in Ibid.
114. See especially the letter of 'Shanghaiander', in Ibid., March 28, 1925.
115. See above this chapter.
116. New Statesman, Feb.21, 1925.
117. Ibid., June 13, 1925.
118. Report of the Annual Labour Party Conference, 1925, p.63.

119. See especially The Times, June 9, 12, 15, 23, 24, and July 3, 1925.
120. Reproduced in the North China Herald, July 4, 1925.
121. The Times, July 3, 1925.
122. Parliamentary Debates, Vol.185, 1924-25, p.27.
123. *Ibid.*, p.31.
124. *Ibid.*, p.915.
125. *Ibid.*, p.932.
126. *Ibid.*, p.934.
127. For example, according to the British White Paper Memorandum on Labour Conditions in China, Cmd.2846, published in 1927, Jardine Matheson's Ewo Cotton Mills no longer hired boys under ten or girls under twelve, - a reform dating back to September 1923 -, the B. A. T. Co. claimed not to admit children under fourteen, Naigai Wata Kaisha did not employ children under four feet tall, while Arnhold and Co. were reported as having taken steps to end child labour in their Oriental Cotton Mills, and the Chinese owned Commercial Press had sought from the beginning to ban child labour. A memorandum submitted to the Child Labour Commission in 1924 suggested that the Silk Reeling Guild would enforce a ban on child labour in Chinese filatures, "... as the children often spoil the raw material ...", but there is no evidence that the ban was put into practice. See 'Shanghai Silk Filatures and Labour Regulations', typescript, Jan.5, 1924, in the archives of the Friends' Meeting House, London.
128. China Weekly Review, Oct.10, 1928, p.94.
129. International Labour Review, Vol.25, 1932, p.539.
130. Report of Mr. Justice Feetham to the Shanghai Municipal Council, 1931, Vol.2, p.28.
131. Wagner, *op.cit.*, p.92-94.
132. Report of Mr. Justice Feetham to the Shanghai Municipal Council, 1931, Vol.2, p.28.

FootnotesChapter 8

1. Industrial and Labour Problems, World's Committee of the YMCA, Geneva, 1931, p.16, in the archives of the library of the World's YMCA, Geneva, Box X314.119.5.
2. See above, chapter 2.
3. Letter David Yui to E. C. Jenkins, May 27, 1921, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York (R.5).
4. 'Memorandum Regarding the Industrial Work of Shanghai Young Men's Christian Association', typescript, n.d., attached to letter W. W. Lockwood to C. A. Herschleb, March 8, 1922, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.9).
5. 'Mr. Brockman's Address', typescript, n.d., in file 'Jan - March 1920', in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.2).
6. 'Memorandum Regarding the Industrial Work of Shanghai Young Men's Christian Association', typescript, n.d., loc.cit.
7. Ibid.
8. Letter David Yui to E. C. Jenkins, May 27, 1921, loc.cit.
9. 'Memorandum Regarding the Industrial Work of Shanghai Young Men's Christian Association', typescript, n.d., attached to letter W. W. Lockwood to C. A. Herschleb, March 8, 1922, loc.cit.
10. Ibid.
11. 'Thoughts on the National Convention to be Held in 1923', typescript, by David Yui, n.d., in folder '1922-23', (A) in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York.
12. Letter W. W. Lockwood to E. C. Jenkins, April 3, 1921, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.1).
13. 'Report of the Shanghai Conference, May 13th - 15th, 1929', typescript, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.22) .

14. World's YWCA : Industrial and Economic Questionnaire in preparation for the World's Committee Meeting of 1928, World's YMCA, London, 1928, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (W), p.1.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., p.5, Appendix A, entitled 'Extract from Recommendations adopted by the World's YWCA Committee Meeting, Champéry, 1920.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid. These were as follows:

A. Draft Conventions

- a. Establishing an 8-hour day or 48 hour week in industry.
- b. Prohibiting night work by women of all ages.
- c. Prohibiting night work by male young persons under 18. (Except in a very few continuous processes, in which only boys of 16 years and upwards may be employed.)
- d. Fixing the minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment at 14.
- e. Prohibiting employment of women during six weeks after childbirth, and granting them permission to leave work under medical certificate that their confinement will probably take place within six weeks (benefit sufficient for full and healthy maintenance of mother and child being provided either out of public funds or by means of a system of insurance, free attendance of doctor or midwife being an additional benefit).
- f. Setting up free public employment agencies.

B. Recommendations

- a. For the prevention of unemployment.
 - b. Concerning reciprocity of treatment of foreign workers.
 - c. Of international action for the prevention of anthrax.
 - d. Of international agreement for the protection of women and children from lead-poisoning.
 - e. Concerning the creation of government health services.
 - f. Concerning the application of the Berne Convention, 1906, prohibiting the use of white phosphorous in the manufacture of matches.
19. 'Classeur 1/132, Reports from 1936-1940, Sections: Social and Industrial Section', typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva, P.2.

20. See above , chapter 4.
21. See above, chapter 3. This was especially the case with the new General Secretary of the YWCA in China, Ting Shu-ching.
22. 'Toward the End of a Two Year Term: Phases in an Evolution', by Eleanor Hinder, Jan. 1, 1928, typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
23. Letter Eleanor Hinder to Mary Dingman, April 26, 1928, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
24. Ibid.
25. Letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman, Oct. 19, 1927, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
26. 'Report of the Third Conference of Industrial Secretaries, YWCA of China, held at Shanghai, Jan. 19-25, 1933', typescript, in the archives of the library at the National Headquarters, YWCA of the United States, New York (D).
27. Ibid. The possible contradiction between the development of class consciousness and struggle in conjunction with other groups will be explored later in the chapter. It is further interesting to note that a special Labour Day issue of the Association periodical Green Year was published in 1933 in which a broad variety of issues confronting working women was discussed, and collective effort in the resolution of problems urged.
28. See below this chapter. The same could not, perhaps, be said of the whole of the National Executive Committee, or of the Association membership.
29. 'Christianity and Industry in China', by Francis J. McConnell, typescript, n.d., text indicates approximately 1923, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (A).
What might be termed a fourth phase in YWCA industrial work began with the outbreak of hostilities between China and Japan in 1937, though as during the war, the Association was simply reacting as best it could to the developing emergency its actions

at this time do not provide a very good indication of the work that might otherwise have been undertaken. The main innovation of the period were the YWCA co-operatives, which were similar in many of their features to the co-operatives administered by Indusco.

30. See above, chapter 4.
31. 'Christianity and Industrial Problems', typescript, in file entitled 'Jerusalem Conference, 1928', in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (Box 24).
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. See below this, chapter.
36. 'The Social Gospel in China', by Sherwood Eddy, in the Chinese Recorder, February 1923, p.86.
37. It may be argued that the creation of certain government agencies in 1927, such as the Kuomintang Ministry of Industries, and the Social Affairs Bureau of the Municipality of Greater Shanghai, represented not so much an attempt to find a genuine solution to labour's grievances, but rather an initiative which would yield information enabling the government to defuse a volatile situation without making any substantial concessions. This is not to say that there were not, for a time, some sincere individuals working for these agencies.
38. 'Christian Industry for China', by J. B. Tayler, in the International Review of Missions, October 1931, p.578.
39. National Christian Conference, Shanghai 1922, Proceedings, NCC Shanghai 1922, in the library of the World Council of Churches, Geneva, p.337.
40. 'China's Economic Challenge to Christianity', by Maxwell S. Stewart, in the Chinese Recorder, August 1928, p.483-84.
41. 'The Woman's Viewpoint: the Chinese Church and the New Industrial System', by Zung Wei-tsung, in the Chinese Recorder, March 1922, p.190.

42. 'John Bernard Tayler M.Sc.', curriculum vitae, typescript, in the private papers of J. B. Tayler in the possession of Mrs. Hilda S. Brown, London.
43. See above, chapter 3.
44. 'Findings: Student Workers' Conference, Shanghai and Hangchow, Nov. 1st - 10th, 1922', typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (A).
45. 'Report of the Third Conference of Industrial Secretaries, YWCA of China, held at Shanghai, January 19-25, 1933', typescript, in the archives of the library at the National Headquarters, YWCA of the United States, New York (D). Other suggested 'methods of work' among students were:
- " - Actual contact and discussions with industrial workers.
 - Joint student-workers institute.
 - Separate student meetings on industrial subjects, etc.
 - Joint projects, Labor play, Labor Day activities.
 - Correspondence between students and workers.
 - Attendance by workers in small numbers at summer conferences; careful preparation would be necessary.
 - Attendance by industrial secretaries at student meetings for industrial discussions." Ibid.
46. The YWCA of China, 1933-47, YWCA, Shanghai, Mercury Press, 1947, p. 71, in the library of the World's YWCA, Geneva.
47. Letter Cora Deng to C. B. Fox, July 20, 1934, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (L).
48. See above, chapter 2.
49. A discussion in 1926 between the U.S. Minister McMurray and E. E. Barnett of the YMCA elicited the advice that in the event Chinese soldiers were quartered on YMCA property the matter should be referred to the nearest U. S. Consul:
- " In such an event the Consul would lodge a protest which would serve later as a basis on which to make claims if serious damage should result from the occupancy of the house by soldiers...
 - ... by protesting at all such infringements on the rights of foreign property in different parts of the country, the United States authorities in China would show that they were

not indifferent to interferences made with American interests."

Letter E. E. Barnett to Fletcher Brockman, Sept. 22, 1926, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.15). It was recognised that the likelihood of any compensation being exacted for damages was small.

50. Letter by Fletcher Brockman 'for the Brockman family only', n.d., but in folder Jan.-Feb., 1927, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.16).
51. These doubts were fuelled by the relatively limited success foreign staff experienced with their earlier Chinese recruits, and by the confusion occasioned by rapid political developments between 1925 and 1927. See above, chapter 3.
52. See chapter 4. The NCC embarked upon its five year programme of evangelism in 1929.
53. 'The Woman's Viewpoint: the Chinese Church and the New Industrial System', by Zung Wei-tsung, in the Chinese Recorder, March 1922, p.189.
54. See above, chapter 3.
55. Report of the Conference on Christianising Economic Relations, held under the auspices of the National Christian Council of China, Shanghai August 18-28, 1927, NCC Shanghai, 1927, p.117, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (X).
56. Papers, Abstracts, and Extracts from Papers Contributed as the Basis of a Discussion to the Conference on the People's Livelihood, Shanghai, February 21-28, 1931, p.107, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (X).
57. See above, chapter 5.
58. Some YWCA secretaries were vociferous in their denunciations of extra-territoriality. See below this chapter, with respect to the events of 1927.
59. The great debate over China's future which occurred in the wake of the May 4th incident of 1919 produced in due course a response among some Christian clergy, who promoted the first 'three-self' movement, calling for self-government, self-support, and self-propagation within the Chinese church. The convening of the National Christian Conference in 1922 was seen by many as a first practical step towards these ends.

60. See above, chapter 2.
61. 'Annual Report, YMCA of China, 1921', typescript, in the archives of the library of the World's YMCA, Geneva Box X392.21 (51).
62. 'Discussion', typescript, n.d., but in folder 'Jan.-March 1920', in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York (R.2).
63. For example, William Lockwood notes in a letter in May 1921 that the Association's industrial work was "... being liberally supported by the employers of labor...", while as late as 1936, by which time the work was quite limited, the British American Tobacco Co. gave \$1,500. Chinese towards a total budget of \$3,600. for classes at the centres in Pootung and in Robison Road. In Chenchow in 1920 a "...building was erected by Mr. H. Y. Moh in connection with a large new cotton mill and the red triangle painted on it before the National Committee had taken any steps to organise an association...", while in 1921 in Tientsin, Hankow, and Shanghai, work had begun "...either within the place of employment or in the neighbourhood...". For Lockwood, see 'Occasional Letter, May 2nd, 1921', by William Lockwood (Series IV, no.2), in the archives of the library at the World's YMCA Geneva, Box X392.22 (51). For the B.A.T., see 'Comment on the Proposed 1936 Budget, by S. Y. Chao, Jan. 21st, 1936', in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York (R.32). For Chengchow 1920, see 'Annual Report, YMCA of China, 1920', typescript, in the archives of the library of the World's YMCA, Geneva, Box X392.21 (51).
For Tientsin, etc., 1921, see *Ibid.*, 1921, *loc.cit.*
64. For example among members of the National Executive Committee of the Chinese YMCA in 1921 were:
- | | |
|------------|--|
| Fong Sec | its Chairman, who was Editor in Chief of the Commercial Press in Shanghai; |
| C. C. Nieh | its Vice-Chairman, who was proprietor of the Heng Foong Cotton Mill, Shanghai; |
| Y. H. Bau | Manager of the Commercial Press; |
| A. O. Ben | Manager of the Sincere Co., and |
| others | |
- See 'Annual Report, YMCA of China, 1921', typescript, *loc.cit.* Probably typical of local centres was Foochow, where T. C. McConnell noted in 1925 that "...the Industrial Committee is composed almost entirely of managers and owners in whose shops work is being donw...". See 'Annual Report for 1925 of

T. C. McConnell to the Foreign Committee of the National Councils of the YMCA's of the United States and Canada', typescript, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.11).

65. It is difficult to assess exactly what part of the Chinese YMCA's budget was found in the United States, and what part was found in China, but it is significant that when contributions to the American YMCA dried up because of the Depression, the Chinese YMCA was also very hard hit, being obliged to sacrifice staff and cut back on its programmes. See for example letter W. W. Lockwood to Charles Herschleb, May 26, 1933, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York (R.29),
66. It has already been noted that officials of the Chinese YMCA had repeatedly asked the International Committee in New York for money to bring an industrial expert to China, with no success, in the early 'twenties. See above Chapter 2.
67. 'Industrial Work, Wu-Han Cities, China, 1922 - Administration Report', by Charles Shedd, typescript, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York (B).
68. 'Report of Fall Trip: Aspects of Co-operation with Various Agencies', by M. T. Tchou, typescript, received April 1924 in the archives of the library of the World's YMCA, Geneva Box X315 (51).
69. Letter 'Dear Friends', by M. T. Tchou, April 13, 1924, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R.9).
70. 'A Chinese 'Y' Secretary's Answer to Labour on 'What is the attitude of the 'Y' Towards the Labour Unions', typescript, text indicates 1925, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York (R.12).
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid.
73. Changing Industrial Life, apparently part of a larger published report, printed separately as a pamphlet, by Kenneth Duncan, Charles Shedd, and John Nipps, attached to a report entitled 'YMCA Chungking, April 15th, 1924', in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York (R.10).

74. The Present Day Industrial Situation and the Labour Movement in China, by Thomas Tchou, YMCA Shanghai, text indicates 1926, p.29, in the archives of the library of the World's YMCA, Geneva, Box 392.21 (51).
75. Some Aspects of the Labour Situation in Canton, by Y. L. Lee, YMCA Canton, 1928, p.13, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (B).
76. 'Mid-May Reflections on China, 1927', typescript, by E. E. Barnett, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York (A).
77. 'Administrative Report for 1927', by E. H. Lockwood, typescript, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York (A). Lockwood went on to observe:
 "Labor put restrictions on employers and enforced them with the weapons of terrorism. Their leaders tried to bring to labor the advantages enjoyed by labor in industrialised countries with their economic surplus and increased production through the use of machines, and led labor unions to apply these advantages in the economic order of China without economic surplus and without the speeding up process of production which exists in Western countries. Employers were caught between two millstones. They were ground by a government in need of funds which had to come largely from taxes on industry and commerce, and by a laboring class flushed with the pleasurable and novel experience of cracking the whip while the employers danced."
78. 'Annual Report, Agatha Harrison, February 23, 1921 - March 23, 1922', typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (A).
79. Letter Mary Dingman to Agatha Harrison, March 30, 1922, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (F).
80. See above, chapter 3.
81. 'Meeting with the Committee of the Foreign Mill Owners' Association, Feb.20, 1922', by Agatha Harrison, typescript, attached to 'Second Interview with Mr.X', in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (A).
82. Harrison observed: "...any sane person will admit that honest and just dealing always does pay. But is there any hope for a future if the stress is laid 'Do this, it will pay'? Are we any

further forward?" See 'Review of the Industrial Situation, Shanghai, China', Sept. 11, 1922, text indicates by Agatha Harrison, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (A).

83. An aversion to welfare work carried on in the factories expressed here by Mary Dingman, was shared by all the Industrial Secretaries. See letter Mary Dingman to Lily Haass, Nov. 24, 1927, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
84. Letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman, April 9, 1927, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
85. 'Report of the Third Conference of Industrial Secretaries, YWCA of China, held at Shanghai, January 19-25, 1933', typescript, in the archives of the library at the National Headquarters, YWCA of the United States, New York (D).
86. In a letter to Mary Dingman, George Sokolsky, journalist with the North China Daily News, suggested that instead of publicly criticising employers, "... the best piece of work you could do would be to get the Chinese labour unions to adopt resolutions opposing the employment of children..."
"...Unless the Chinese themselves are opposed to child labour, all efforts in this direction are bound to fail..." Letter George Sokolsky to Mary Dingman, March 24, 1925, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G).
87. Letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman and Agatha Harrison, Sept. 19, 1925, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
88. Letter Eleanor Hinder to Mary Dingman, March 23, 1926, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
89. Ibid.
90. Letter Eleanor Hinder to 'My Dears', May 16, 1926, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
91. Ibid.
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid.

94. In a mid-1926 edition of the YWCA's official English language bulletin, Green Year Supplement, it was noted that,
- " With the astonishing development of Labour Unions in the last few years an entirely new element has entered. Our policy may need to be re-thought with a view to ascertaining in what ways we may co-operate with these groups." See Green Year Supplement, July-August 1926, in the archives of the library at the National Headquarters, YWCA of the United States, New York (E).
95. 'The Industrial Situation in Shanghai', by Eleanor Hinder, October 1926, typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
96. Ibid.
97. Letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman, Aug. 3, 1926, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
98. 'The Beginning of the Chapei Centre - Report to the Board', by Eleanor Hinder, Dec. 21, 1926, typescript, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
99. See Green Year Supplement, Jan. 15, 1927, No. 10, p. 5, in the archives of the library at the National Headquarters, YWCA of the United States, New York (E).
100. Letter Eleanor Hinder to Mary Dingman, April 10, 1927, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva, (C).
101. 'The Industrial Situation in Shanghai', by Eleanor Hinder, October 1926, typescript, loc. cit. This attitude is further elaborated upon in a YWCA publication in 1927,
- " World history displays that it has been in the main the efforts of labour itself which have attained for it a measure of legal protection in the conditions of its employment. There have been, of course, sympathetic men who have advanced the cause of labour, though themselves not of the ranks of labour, and especially in the early days of struggle for emancipation, these friends have had a place. But in the main it is labour which accomplishes for itself, presupposing a growing intelligence toward its own problems"

The YWCA of China, YWCA Shanghai, 1927, p. 26, pamphlet,

in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (W). Hinder places the emphasis here on 'legal' protection.

102. See letter Eleanor Hinder to Mary Dingman, April 10, 1927, loc.cit.
103. 'The Beginning of the Chapei Centre - Report to the Board', by Eleanor Hinder, Dec.21, 1926, typescript, loc.cit. Interestingly, YWCA staff in Chapei called upon at this time a Mrs. Moh, "...formerly a silk worker, and now employed in an organising position by owners of the filature...", whom they had known of previously. Discovering that her status had changed, and that "...her group is not now regarded loyal by the General Federation of Labour ... we are not therefore anxious to have much to do with her, so that we shall not be misunderstood by Labour." Ibid.
104. See letter Eleanor Hinder to Mary Dingman, Sept.15, 1927, and letter Eleanor Hinder to Mary Dingman Nov.8, 1927, both in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
105. 'Some Facts and Factors in the Labour Movement in China', by Eleanor Hinder, in the Chinese Recorder, January 1928, p.33.
106. See 'Some Facts About the Labour Movement in China', by Eleanor Hinder, n.d., text indicates 1927, typescript, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (Box 21).
107. 'YWCA Industrial Work in China', by Lily Haass, 1929, typescript, in the archives of the library at the National Headquarters, YWCA of the United States, New York (C).
108. 'Report of the Third Conference of Industrial Secretaries, YWCA of China, held at Shanghai, January 19-25, 1933', typescript, loc.cit.
109. Ibid. ...In a letter to Mary Dingman in 1933 Cora Deng reports the result of "... a census of opinion among union people as to what YWCA work is ..." or should be. Deng found that unionists felt the Association could be most helpful in pressing for enforcement of legislation on the protection of women workers, in which end Deng had begun collecting information on the effect of night work, long hours, and other occupational hazards on women workers. This emphasis on legislation on the part of the unions reflected perhaps both the rather conservative nature

in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (W). Hinder places the emphasis here on 'legal' protection.

102. See letter Eleanor Hinder to Mary Dingman, April 10, 1927, loc.cit.
103. 'The Beginning of the Chapei Centre - Report to the Board', by Eleanor Hinder, Dec.21, 1926, typescript, loc.cit. Interestingly, YWCA staff in Chapei called upon at this time a Mrs. Moh, "...formerly a silk worker, and now employed in an organising position by owners of the filature...", whom they had known of previously. Discovering that her status had changed, and that "...her group is not now regarded loyal by the General Federation of Labour ... we are not therefore anxious to have much to do with her, so that we shall not be misunderstood by Labour." Ibid.
104. See letter Eleanor Hinder to Mary Dingman, Sept.15, 1927, and letter Eleanor Hinder to Mary Dingman Nov.8, 1927, both in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
105. 'Some Facts and Factors in the Labour Movement in China', by Eleanor Hinder, in the Chinese Recorder, January 1928, p.33.
106. See 'Some Facts About the Labour Movement in China', by Eleanor Hinder, n.d., text indicates 1927, typescript, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (Box 21).
107. 'YWCA Industrial Work in China', by Lily Haass, 1929, typescript, in the archives of the library at the National Headquarters, YWCA of the United States, New York (C).
108. 'Report of the Third Conference of Industrial Secretaries, YWCA of China, held at Shanghai, January 19-25, 1933', typescript, loc.cit.
109. Ibid. ...In a letter to Mary Dingman in 1933 Cora Deng reports the result of "... a census of opinion among union people as to what YWCA work is ..." or should be. Deng found that unionists felt the Association could be most helpful in pressing for enforcement of legislation on the protection of women workers, in which end Deng had begun collecting information on the effect of night work, long hours, and other occupational hazards on women workers. This emphasis on legislation on the part of the unions reflected perhaps both the rather conservative nature

of the unions in existence at this time, and/or a reluctance still to trust the YWCA with very much more than conventional 'public opinion' work. Deng further noted that she had been unable to obtain accurate information on the extent of unionisation among women workers, but that in general,

- " 1. In trades where women and men are employed, they are in the same union, but women take very little active part, - such as tobacco, match, silk weaving, food canning, textile, etc., industries.
2. In trades where women are in the dominating group they have a union by themselves, but the head of the union is usually a man and also the majority of the committee members are men in some unions. This is true of silk filatures in both Wusih and Shanghai. This is due to three reasons:
- a. Lack of literate women and
 - b. Men are more experienced in public organisational matters
 - c. Employers put their feelers in the unions."

Deng also attributed the slow of the union movement generally to Kuomintang control, employers' frequent dismissal of unionists, and repression by the authorities of the foreign concessions.

See letter Cora Deng to Mary Dingman, March 13, 1933, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (L).

110. Labour Problems, by Cora Deng, YWCA Shanghai, 1935, p.18, article from the China Christian Year Book 1934-35, reproduced as a pamphlet, in the archives of the library at the National Headquarters, YWCA of the United States, New York (B).
111. 'Report of the Third Conference of Industrial Secretaries, YWCA of China, held at Shanghai, January 19-25, 1933', typescript, loc.cit.
112. See for example the list of executive officers in 1930 as in letter Cora Deng to Mary Dingman, Oct.16, 1930, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (J).
113. The precise source of funds for YWCA work are difficult to pinpoint. It would seem however that each local YWCA raised funds by means of financial campaigns, membership and activity fees, hostels and room rentals, bazaars and similar activities. The National Committee relied for support on contributions from the public both inside and outside the Association while secretaries from abroad were paid for by the YWCA of the U.S. Letter to the author from Katherine Strong, May 9, 1977.

114. See above, chapter 4.
115. National Christian Conference, Shanghai 1922, Proceedings, NCC Shanghai, 1922, loc.cit.
116. See above, chapter 4.
117. In the one case in whic foreign employers seem actively to have participated in a movement for reform - during the child labour campaign -, it may be argued that they were as much driven by the bad publicity they had been getting in their home countries as by any sense of shame. See above Chapter 7.
118. Report of the Conference on Christianising Economic Relations, held under the auspices of the National Christian Council of China, Shanghai August 18-28, 1927, NCC Shanghai, 1927, p.122-123, loc.cit.
119. Ibid., p.95.
120. The YWCA of China, YWCA Shanghai, 1927, p.28, pamphlet, loc.cit. This resolution was passed at the 1926 annual meeting of the NCC.
121. Letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman, Dec.29, 1926, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C). Lily Haass' frustration with the NCC Executive on this question is expressed in another letter to Mary Dingman, as follows: "... there is no dodging that I am up against something here about Labor Unions - E.C.L. (E. C. Lobenstine) is so afraid that he got the executive to reiterate that no committee get out anything in statement or policy without referring back to the NCC Exec. It's not of course that he's against Labor Unions but he's so afraid of the conservatives who feel we're 'butting into' secular fields - and ignorantly at that - I think we have the best answer in the world to the anti-Christian movement attach on our 'Capitalism' etc. If we state where we stand with reference to Labor Unions, but it can't be done, at present at least." See letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman, 'Dear Mary ...', n.d., but attached to letter to Lily Haass and Eleanor Hinder, apparently from Mary Dingman, Nov.25, 1926, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
122. Report of the Conference on Christianising Economic Relations, held under the auspices of the National Christian Council of

China, Shanghai August 18-28, 1927, NCC, Shanghai, 1927, p. 95-96, loc. cit.

123. Ibid., p. 116.
124. On the Kuomintang and the unions Gideon Chen, conveying the news of his decision to leave the NCC in 1929, wrote to Mary Dingman, "There has been a general setback to the labour movement in China, owing to the attitude of the Nanking government and most of the big commanders ... a system of Government guides to labour has been instituted, that is to control trade unions through local Kuomintangs... The shooting and arrest of 'communists' still go on every day! This kind of policy couldn't go on forever. A reaction may come sooner or later...". Letter Gideon Chen to Mary Dingman, Feb. 9, 1929, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).
125. Papers, Abstracts, and Extracts from Papers Contributed as the Basis of a Discussion to the Conference on the People's Livelihood, Shanghai, Feb. 21-28, 1931, NCC, Shanghai, 1931, p. 2, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (X).
126. See for example the praise for Kuomintang operations against the Communists in the Yearbook, YMCA of China, 1936, p. 1, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (A).
127. See The YMCA and the Training of Personnel for Social Agencies in China, YMCA Shanghai, n.d., text indicates 1939, p. 1, pamphlet in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R. 32).
128. Industrial Work of the Shanghai YMCA : Anniversary Report, 1935, YMCA Shanghai 1935, p. 9, pamphlet in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York (C).
129. The YMCA and the Training of Personnel for Social Agencies in China, YMCA Shanghai, n.d., text indicates 1939, p. 1, pamphlet. These men were T. L. Chang, General Secretary of the Rickshaw Board, and Thomas Chu and Hanson Wong, both Counsellors.
130. See above, chapter 3.
131. Letter Lily Haass to Mary Dingman, Sept. 9, 1929, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).

132. 'Progressive Movements in Tientsin, China', by Lydia Johnson, 1929, typescript, in the archives of the library at the National Headquarters, YWCA of the United States, New York (C).
133. See letter J. B. Tayler to W. Paton, July 10, 1930, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (114).
134. See for example the 'Minutes' of the National Executive Committee, YWCA of China, Jan. 18, 1923, and May 17, 1923, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (B).
135. See above, chapter 3.
136. Letter Mary Dingman to 'Dear Family and Friends', May 24, 1925, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (G).
137. Letter Cora Deng to Mary Dingman, Oct. 16, 1930, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (J).
138. See above, chapter 2.
139. 'Special Report to the International Survey, China', Shanghai 1930, by Robert E. Lewis, typescript, in the archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York, (R. 26). Lewis commented on the "...narrow view of religion in the Chinese Church, which (on social matters) will follow some distance behind and timidly for some years." This assessment is reinforced by the response to a questionnaire circulated among the missionary community prior to the conference that was to have been in Hangchow in 1938, which showed that on a scale of 10, 'the economic life and organisation of the rural family' ranked 4, and 'the economic life and organisation of the urban family' ranked only 2, while for example 'the pastor's budget' ranked 8, and 'youth and the Church', and 'the problem of the modern intelligentsia regarding the Church' both ranked 10. See 'Opinion Scale as to Relative Value of Topics Proposed for Study in Preparation for the Hangchow Conference', 1938, typescript, in the archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva (RD.2).
140. See above, chapters 2, 3 and 4.
141. See for example the budgets of the NCC Industrial Commission in 1923 and 1924, in 'Report of the Church and Industrial and Economic Problems', n.d., text indicates 1923, in the archives

of the World's YWCA, Geneva (F), and Report of Commission on Church and Industry, NCC Shanghai, 1924, pamphlet, in the archives of the International Labour Office, Geneva, dossier G/900/28/1, jacket 2.

142. See above, chapter 4.

143. Mary Dingman noted two examples in particular of the strength of this feeling among the foreign community, both taken from letters to the North China Daily News, as follows:

Feb. 14, 1927 - "Opposite to me (in a bus) was a number of Chinese of the coolie class. Presently one of them indulged in that disgusting peculiarity of expectorating on the floor of the bus. Nothing was said. In a little while he did this again even more disgustingly, so I gave him a kick on the shin and called him a dirty devil."

Jan. 15, 1927 "Fear not, what Britain was is Britain still.
Soon all the scum thrown up to prance and preen
At Moscow's bidding will receive their fill
Of punishment, and seek their styes obscene,
Unwept, unhonoured. Britain, like God's mill
Grinds slowly. Britain is what she has been."

Another contributor deplored the fact that in Hankow British marines had been "...desecrated by the ape-like creatures of Borodin and Chen...".

See letter Mary Dingman to Dr. T. Tatlow, n.d. indicates 1927, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).

144. Letter Eleanor Hinder to Mary Dingman, Jan. 25, 1927, in the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).

145. That YWCA secretaries were so unanimous in their early support for the United Front led by the Kuomintang, and for the possibilities for radical change which it was thought to represent, is the more remarkable when their attitude is contrasted with that of senior YMCA officials at the time. From the point of this schism, it is argued, dates the cessation of any active attempt at co-operation with the YMCA. The following passages taken from the correspondence of YWCA and YMCA officials will serve to illustrate this divergence of view:

- " ...I hope that I may still have faith in this nationalist movement, even if I am the victim of some of the excesses... My mind tries to take in the import of the so-called 'red' element of this thing, and not unsympathetically, for we have not yet demonstrated that Russia is not right in her method, nor have we demonstrated the complete rightness of the capitalist system..." - Eleanor Hinder to Mary Dingman, Jan.25, 1927.
- " ...the movement that is sweeping from the south, - the movement that is the most hopeful thing on the horizon for checking militarism..." - Lily Haass to Mary Dingman, Dec.22, 1926.
- " ...I hope the havoc these warlords have played with China is about over, and the foreign influence which was part of the havoc in many ways is about over too... I hope we don't have to leave until we see the Southern flags flying ..." - Harriet Rietveld (Chefoo) to Mary Dingman, June 23, 1927.

For the above, see the archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva (C).

Helen Thoburn also wrote sympathetically of the 'revolution' - as it was then termed - early in 1927, while Maud Russell noted that more and more she had come to "...revel in the challenge of it ...".

See "Helen Thoburn" (a eulogy), by Eleanor Hinder, in Green Year Supplement, March 1932 and "Wuchang", no author given, in Green Year Supplement, No.11, March 12, 1927, both in the archives of the library at the National Headquarters, YWCA of the United States, New York (E).

On the other hand, E. E. Barnett complained that "...Agitators, schooled in the ideals and methods of Moscow, have engendered class consciousness, have stirred class hatred against the possessing classes, and at least in Hunan have boldly preached the doctrines and practised the methods of Marx and Lenin", while E. H. Lockwood wrote, "The most encouraging event in the politics of Canton in 1927 was the elimination of the communists as a party after the Red uprising in December."

See 'Mid-May Reflections on China, 1927', by E. E. Barnett, typescript, loc.cit., and 'Administrative Report for 1927', by E. H. Lockwood, typescript, loc.cit.

APPENDIX 1. A

'The Usual Range of Adult Wages in Certain
Chinese Industries, 1931-1932'

*The Usual Range of Adult Wages in Certain
Chinese Industries 1931-1932*

	<i>Number of Establish- ment</i>	<i>Total Workers</i>	<i>Usual Wage per day in Chinese dollars.</i>	<i>Sex of Workers</i>
Cotton spinning	16	44,146	\$0.50 to \$0.60	male and female
Cotton weaving	39		0.50 to 0.80	male and female
Knitting	9	2,464	0.65 to 1.00	male and female
Silk filatures	4	1,400	0.40 to 0.70	female
Silk weaving	10	945	0.70 to 1.00	male and female
Rug weaving	28	5,170	0.44 to 0.67	male
Engineering	6	2,170	0.55 to 2.00	male
Iron works	4	4,560	0.55 to 2.00	male
Rice mills	2	150	0.70 to 1.00	male
Egg produce	2	650	0.70 to 0.90	male
Rubber goods	2	860	{ 0.78 to 0.93 1.55 to 1.75	female male
Firecracker	2	450	0.60 to 0.90	male
Flashlight	2	320	{ 0.23 to 0.35 0.78 to 1.16	female male
<i>Per month</i>				
Flour mills	13	1,925	\$20.00 to \$40.00	male
Match factories	12	6,104	11.00 to 22.00	male
Oil mills	8	1,210	18.00 to 30.00	male
Leather	4	177	16.00 to 31.00	male
Dyeing	5	235	10.00 to 30.00	male
	<u>163</u>	<u>72,936</u>		

Dorothy J. Orchard. "Man-Power in China." *loc. cit.*, pp. 18-20.
Mrs. Orchard says: "This summary covers establishments in thirty-four centers stretching from Harbin in Manchuria to Canton in South China. Two hundred and eighty-two industrial establishments from small handicraft workshops to large modern factories were visited, and of this number, wage data are here presented for one hundred and sixty-eight establishments employing 72,936 workers."

Average Monthly Earnings of Workers in

Shanghai, 1930-1940

Relative Position	1930		1931		1932	
	Industries	Earnings Per Month	Industries	Earnings Per Month	Industries	Earnings Per Month
1st	Printing	\$41.720	Printing	\$40.696	Shipbuilding	\$43.518
2nd	Shipbuilding	35.950	Shipbuilding	40.672	Silk Weaving	32.705
3rd	Machinery	26.364	Machinery	27.497	Printing	28.343
4th	Silk Weaving	23.507	Silk Weaving	23.207	Machinery	27.672
5th	Oil Pressing	21.808	Enamelling	21.536	Underwear Knitting	19.902
6th	Enamelling	21.764	Paper Making	21.449	Paper Making	19.512
7th	Hosiery Knitting	19.256	Underwear Knitting	20.168	Hosiery Knitting	17.901
8th	Flour	18.658	Oil Pressing	19.311	Oil Pressing	17.219
9th	Underwear Knitting	18.423	Flour	16.024	Cotton Weaving	15.806
10th	Paper Making	17.160	Wool Weaving	15.692	Enamelling	15.515
11th	Cotton Weaving	15.160	Tobacco	15.439	Wool Weaving	14.589
12th	Tobacco	14.878	Hosiery Knitting	14.058	Flour	14.497
13th	Wool Weaving	13.232	Cotton Weaving	13.464	Tobacco	14.129
14th	Cotton Spinning	10.868	Cotton Spinning	11.091	Match Making	12.615
15th	Match Making	10.685	Silk Reeling	9.860	Cotton Spinning	11.393
16th	Silk Reeling	8.333	Match Making	9.517	Silk Reeling	7.935
Relative Position	1933		1934		1935	
	Industries	Earnings Per Month	Industries	Earnings Per Month	Industries	Earnings Per Month
1st	Shipbuilding	\$47.633	Shipbuilding	\$43.049	Shipbuilding	\$40.189
2nd	Printing	32.609	Printing	29.487	Printing	29.245
3rd	Silk Weaving	27.759	Machinery	24.253	Machinery	23.085
4th	Machinery	24.581	Silk Weaving	23.357	Paper Making	20.843
5th	Underwear Knitting	20.034	Enamelling	19.957	Enamelling	18.546
6th	Oil Pressing	18.683	Underwear Knitting	18.778	Oil Pressing	18.291
7th	Enamelling	17.386	Wool Weaving	17.539	Underwear Knitting	17.675
8th	Flour	17.119	Flour	17.441	Silk Weaving	17.370
9th	Wool Weaving	15.845	Paper Making	17.410	Flour	16.711
10th	Paper Making	15.840	Oil Pressing	15.711	Hosiery Knitting	14.639
11th	Cotton Weaving	14.329	Tobacco	15.605	Tobacco	14.598
12th	Tobacco	14.309	Cotton Weaving	15.539	Wool Weaving	14.371
13th	Hosiery Knitting	13.674	Hosiery Knitting	12.009	Cotton Weaving	12.852
14th	Cotton Spinning	10.719	Cotton Spinning	11.005	Cotton Spinning	9.648
15th	Match Making	9.771	Match Making	7.918	Match Making	7.917
16th	Silk Reeling	8.498	Silk Reeling	6.310	Silk Reeling	6.561

Average Monthly Earnings of Workers in
Shanghai, 1930-1940

Relative Position	1936		1937		1938	
	Industries	Earnings Per Month	Industries	Earnings Per Month	Industries	Earnings Per Month
1st	Shipbuilding	\$40.925	Printing	\$30.229	Printing	\$31.383
2nd	Printing	36.167	Silk Weaving	21.484	Machinery	22.169
3rd	Machinery	26.078	Machinery	18.319	Oil Pressing	18.163
4th	Underwear Knitting	19.337	Oil Pressing	18.163	Silk Weaving	17.904
5th	Enamelling	19.038	Flour	16.627	Cotton Weaving	16.309
6th	Silk Weaving	13.660	Wool Weaving	14.345	Paper Making	16.730
7th	Flour	16.538	Cotton Weaving	13.542	Flour	16.627
8th	Paper Making	16.178	Enamelling	12.306	Enamelling	16.345
9th	Wool Weaving	15.345	Underwear Knitting	12.115	Wool Weaving	16.261
10th	Oil Pressing	15.724	Hosiery Knitting	11.303	Underwear Knitting	13.764
11th	Cotton Weaving	15.483	Paper Making	11.120	Cotton Spinning	13.301
12th	Tobacco	14.680	Tobacco	10.368	Hosiery Knitting	12.729
13th	Hosiery Knitting	13.635	Cotton Spinning	9.324	Tobacco	11.367
14th	Match Making	11.713	Silk Reeling	1.393	Silk Reeling	6.766
15th	Cotton Spinning	10.054				
16th	Silk Reeling	3.253				

1939		1940	
Industries	Earnings per Month	Industries	Earnings per Month
Printing	\$36.289	Printing	\$65.446
Machinery	24.870	Flour	45.676
Paper Making	23.352	Machinery	45.200
Silk Weaving	22.196	Cotton Weaving	42.530
Flour	21.885	Wool Weaving	42.453
Underwear Knitting	21.763	Oil Pressing	39.873
Cotton Weaving	21.315	Paper Making	39.313
Wool Weaving	19.910	Enamelling	38.580
Enamelling	19.408	Cotton Spinning	37.083
Oil Pressing	18.986	Hosiery Knitting	32.839
Cotton Spinning	16.917	Silk Weaving	31.918
Hosiery Knitting	12.442	Underwear Knitting	23.565
Tobacco	11.117	Tobacco	22.553
Silk Reeling	10.900	Match Making	22.491
Match Making	7.935	Silk Reeling	17.924

APPENDIX I. C

'Indices of Actual Earnings, Cost of Living,
and Real Wages, 1930-1940'

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL COUNCIL, 1940.

TABLE VII.—INDICES OF ACTUAL EARNINGS, COST OF LIVING, AND REAL WAGES, 1930-1940.
New Base : 1936=100.

Indices	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
Actual Earnings ..	106.95	107.34	106.08	103.21	98.10	90.49	100.00	84.83	92.38	119.09	242.47
Cost of Living	111.19	108.36	102.87	92.51	92.68	93.99	100.00	118.15	152.90	203.25	438.22
Real Wages	96.19	99.06	103.12	111.57	105.85	96.28	100.00	71.80	60.42	58.59	55.33

Taken from the Annual Report of the Shanghai Municipal Council,
op. cit., 1940, p. 76.

APPENDIX 2. A

Peking Provisional Factory Regulations, 1923

Provisional Factory General Regulations. Promulgated by Ministerial Order No. 223 of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce on March 29, 1923.

ARTICLE 1.

These regulations are applicable to the following factories:—

1. Factories which have on ordinary time more than 100 workers.
2. Factories in which the work is dangerous in character and injurious to health.

Factories for which these regulations are not applicable shall be specified by separate Ministerial orders.

ARTICLE 2.

These regulations shall be likewise applicable to any foreign factory established in Chinese territory, which is of the same character as described in the provision of the preceding article.

ARTICLE 3.

A factory owner shall be prohibited from employing boys under 10 and girls under 12 years of age.

ARTICLE 4.

Boys under 17 and girls under 18 shall be termed juvenile workers.

ARTICLE 5.

Juvenile workers shall be employed only on light work.

ARTICLE 6.

Excluding the time of rest, the working hours for juvenile workers shall not exceed eight hours a day and for adult workers, ten hours a day.

ARTICLE 7.

A factory owner shall be prohibited from employing juvenile workers in any kind of work between the hours of 8 p.m. and 4 a.m.

ARTICLE 8.

Adult workers shall be given at least two days rest per month and juvenile workers, three days rest per month.

But in case of serious accident or emergencies, the provisions contained in the preceding paragraph may be temporarily suspended, but the administrative authorities concerned shall be notified of the same within three days.

Peking Provisional Factory Regulations, 1923

ARTICLE 9.

Any worker shall be given one or more rest periods per day. The rest period or periods referred to in the preceding paragraph shall be not less than one hour a day.

ARTICLE 10.

In case a special factory should adopt a system of day and night shifts, the working schedules shall be so arranged that the hours of the workers may be interchanged at least once every ten days.

ARTICLE 11.

Wages shall be paid in money of legal tender and unless with their consent they shall not be paid in kind.

ARTICLE 12.

Wages shall be paid regularly and at least once a month.

ARTICLE 13.

In case the working hours should be prolonged because of special conditions, a special increase of wages shall be made.

ARTICLE 14.

A factory owner shall be prohibited from deducting in advance a sum of money from the wages of any employee as a security for compensation for breach of contract or any other damage.

ARTICLE 15.

If a scheme should be adopted whereby a part of the employees wages is deducted as his savings or for any other benefit of the employee, the latter's consent to such deduction must be obtained, and the proposed scheme must be submitted to the administrative authorities concerned for approval.

ARTICLE 16.

In case an employee should leave the factory or die, the factory owner shall pay in full the wages due to the employee or to the deceased's family together with all his savings.

ARTICLE 17.

A factory owner shall, in accordance with the conditions of the factory, draw up regulations providing for compensation for the family of a deceased employee as well as regulations providing for rewards and pension of the employee. Such regulations shall be submitted to the administrative authorities concerned for approval.

Peking Provisional Factory Regulations, 1923

ARTICLE 18.

A factory owner shall at the expense of the factory, provide supplementary and suitable education for juvenile workers or uneducated employees.

The time spent in supplementary education, as referred to in the foregoing paragraph, shall be at least ten hours a week for a juvenile worker and six hours for an uneducated employee.

ARTICLE 19.

A factory owner shall at his discretion, limit or suspend the work of an employee when such employee is injured or sick. If such injury or sickness is caused through work in the factory, the factory owner shall bear all medical expenses and shall not be permitted to make any deduction from the wages which the employee should receive while he is injured or sick.

ARTICLE 20.

A female worker shall be given five weeks rest before and after a confinement and a suitable sum of money shall be given to assist such female worker.

ARTICLE 21.

A juvenile or female worker shall not be required to clean, oil, examine, repair, fix or change a belt or rope, or to engage in any other dangerous work, when a machine is in motion, nor shall such worker be employed at the dangerous parts of the machine for the transmission of power.

ARTICLE 22.

A juvenile worker shall not be required to handle poisonous, violent or explosive materials, or any other harmful materials.

ARTICLE 23.

A juvenile worker shall not be required to work in a place which is unsanitary or dangerous, or in any place infested with dust, powder or any poisonous gases.

ARTICLE 24.

A factory shall provide necessary and suitable equipment for the purpose of preserving the health of its employees and preventing any dangers that may arise.

Inspectors may be appointed from time to time by the administrative authorities concerned to investigate the condition of the factory.

Peking Provisional Factory Regulations, 1923

ARTICLE 25.

When the administrative authorities concerned consider that a factory, its auxiliary buildings or its equipment may easily be a cause of danger, or endanger the health of its employees or the public welfare, the factory owner shall immediately make necessary and suitable alterations in accordance with the order of the said authorities.

When the said authorities deem it necessary to intervene in any matter referred to in the foregoing paragraph, they may order to suspend the operation of the whole plant or a part of it.

ARTICLE 26.

A factory owner may appoint a suitable person or persons to act as the factory superintendent to manage all the affairs of the factory.

The appointment of such superintendent shall be submitted to the administrative authorities concerned for record.

ARTICLE 27.

A factory superintendent shall on behalf of the factory owner bear all the responsibilities specified in these regulations.

ARTICLE 28.

These regulations shall take effect from the day of promulgation.

N.B.—This translation is made to facilitate the understanding of these regulations. The Chinese text shall be authoritative in case of doubt.

APPENDIX 2. B

Factory Act of the Nanking Government, 1931

I. FACTORY LAW

Chapter I

GENERAL PROVISIONS

ARTICLE 1. This Law shall apply to all factories where power generators are used and where in ordinary times thirty or more laborers are employed.

ARTICLE 2. When used in this Law, unless the regulations otherwise indicate, the term "Proper Authorities" means the municipal government in municipalities and the district government in the districts (*hsien*).

ARTICLE 3. Factories shall keep a laborers' register, record fully the following particulars concerning each laborer, and file such information with the Proper Authorities:—

- (1) Name, sex, age, native-place and address;
- (2) Date of entry into the factory;
- (3) The kind of work, hours and remuneration;
- (4) Physical condition;
- (5) The rewards and penalties received in the factory;
- (6) The kinds of illness suffered by the laborer and the causes thereof.

ARTICLE 4. Once every six months factories shall submit to the Proper Authorities a report, containing the following particulars:—

- (1) Changes made in the laborers' register;
- (2) Illness suffered by the laborers, treatment and results;
- (3) Accidents and measures taken for relief thereof;
- (4) The dismissal of laborers and reasons therefor.

Chapter II

CHILD AND FEMALE LABOR

ARTICLE 5. No person, male or female, who has not completed his or her fourteenth year shall be employed in any factory as a laborer.

Boys or girls above the age of twelve and below the age of fourteen who are already in employment prior to the promulgation of this Law may, with the consent of the Proper Authorities, have the age limit extended when this Law is put into effect.

ARTICLE 6. Males or females above the age of fourteen but who have not completed their sixteenth year shall be deemed child laborers and are permitted to perform light or easy work only.

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ARTICLE 7. Child and female laborers shall not be employed in the following work:—

- (1) In handling explosive, inflammatory or poisonous articles;
- (2) In places which are exposed to dust or poisonous odors and gas;
- (3) In fixing, cleaning, oiling, inspecting, or repairing moving machines, power transmitting equipment, or risky parts thereof, or in adjusting belts and ropes;
- (4) In connecting highly charged electric wires;
- (5) In handling molten metals or the residue thereof;
- (6) In handling furnaces or boilers; or
- (7) Other work that is immoral or of a dangerous character.

Chapter III

WORKING HOURS

ARTICLE 8. In principle the number of working hours for adult laborers shall be eight per day; but may be extended to ten per day in cases of necessity due to varying local conditions or the nature of the work.

ARTICLE 9. All factories that use the system of day and night shifts shall so arrange their working schedules that the shifts for the laborers may be interchanged at least once a week.

ARTICLE 10. Notwithstanding the provisions of Article 8 a factory may, in case of *force majeure* and with the consent of the labor union, extend the working day, but the total number of working hours shall not exceed twelve per day, and the overtime work shall not exceed forty-six hours per month for any laborer.

ARTICLE 11. The regular working day for child laborers shall, under no circumstances, exceed eight hours.

ARTICLE 12. Child laborers shall not work between the hours of eight o'clock in the evening and six o'clock the following morning.

ARTICLE 13. Female laborers shall not work between the hours of ten o'clock in the evening and six o'clock the following morning.

Chapter IV

REST AND HOLIDAYS

ARTICLE 14. Any laborer who works continuously for a period of five hours shall have half an hour's rest.

ARTICLE 15. All laborers shall have one day of regular holiday in every seven days.

ARTICLE 16. All factories shall cease work on holidays designated by the laws or orders of the National Government.

ARTICLE 17. All laborers who work continuously for a fixed period shall be allowed a special holiday which shall be based on the following scale:—

- (1) All laborers who have worked continuously for more than one year but less than three years, shall be allowed a holiday period of seven days each year;
- (2) All laborers who have worked continuously for more than three years but less than five years, shall be allowed a holiday period of ten days per year;

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- (3) All laborers who have worked continuously for more than five years but less than ten years, shall be allowed a holiday period of fourteen days a year;
- (4) All laborers who have worked continuously for more than ten years shall have an additional day for each additional year added to his holiday period, but the total number of rest days shall not exceed thirty.

ARTICLE 18. All laborers shall be paid their regular wages for the holidays and rest periods provided in Articles 15, 16 and 17.

In cases where the laborers do not wish to enjoy the special holiday to which they are entitled, their wages for the said period shall be doubled.

ARTICLE 19. Where military establishments or public utility works are concerned, the Proper Authorities may refuse to grant holiday periods whenever they deem such action necessary.

Chapter V

WAGES

ARTICLE 20. Minimum wages of the laborers shall be determined in accordance with the living conditions prevalent in the various localities in which the factories are established.

ARTICLE 21. Wages shall be paid to the laborers in full legal tender of the localities where the factories are situated.

ARTICLE 22. Regular wages based either on the time-rate or the piece-rate shall be paid to the workers at least twice a month. Wages shall be paid on fixed dates.

ARTICLE 23. Whenever an extension of working hours is made in accordance with Article 10 or Article 19, the laborers' wages shall be increased from one-third to two-thirds of their regular wages calculated on an hourly basis.

ARTICLE 24. Male and female laborers of the same occupation and of equal efficiency shall receive equal wages.

ARTICLE 25. Factories shall not deduct in advance the wages of the laborers as security for penalties for breach of contract or as indemnity for damages.

Chapter VI

TERMINATION OF WORKING CONTRACTS

ARTICLE 26. Contracts entered into for a stipulated period of time may upon expiration be renewed only by mutual agreement.

ARTICLE 27. In cases where the contract has no stipulation as to its term, the factory may cancel the same only by serving on the laborers a notice in advance. The time allowed by the notice shall be based upon the following scale, but this provision shall not apply to contracts which have stipulations concerning the manner of termination:—

- (1) Ten days' advance notice to laborers who have worked in the factory for more than three months but less than one year;
- (2) Twenty days' advance notice to laborers who have worked for more than one year but less than three years;

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- (3) Thirty days' advance notice to laborers who have worked for more than three years.

ARTICLE 28. Laborers who have received notices of dismissal may ask for a leave of absence in order to apply for other jobs, but said leave of absence shall not exceed two working days a week. Wages during the said period shall be paid to said laborers.

ARTICLE 29. Factories which terminate the working contract in conformity with the provisions of Article 27 shall pay the laborers, in addition to their regular wages, half of the wages due for the period of notification as stipulated in the said Article. Failing to comply with the provisions of Article 27, the factories which desire summary termination of the working contract, shall pay to the laborers the entire wages for the period of notification as stipulated in the said Article.

ARTICLE 30. Factories may terminate the employment agreements with their laborers under any one of the following conditions, but must serve previous notices on them in accordance with the provisions of Article 27:—

- (1) When a factory totally or partially suspends operations;
- (2) When a factory either through natural disasters or the force of unforeseen circumstances, is obliged to suspend operations for a period of over one month;
- (3) When a laborer is incapable of performing his work.

ARTICLE 31. Factories may terminate the employment agreements with their laborers without serving on them any previous notice under any one of the following conditions:—

- (1) When a laborer repeatedly violates the factory's regulations;
- (2) When a laborer fails to report for work without good cause for over three consecutive days or for over six days within one month.

ARTICLE 32. Laborers may terminate their working contracts by serving on the factories a notice of one week, in case said contracts have no stipulation as to the term thereof.

ARTICLE 33. Under any one of the following conditions the laborers may terminate their contracts with the factories without serving on the latter any previous notice:—

- (1) When a factory violates the terms of the working contract or any important provisions of the Government's labor laws;
- (2) When a factory fails to pay the wages at the proper time without just cause.
- (3) When a factory maltreats the laborers.

ARTICLE 34. Disputes arising from the interpretations and applications of paragraph 3 of Article 30, paragraph 1 of Article 31 and Article 33 may be referred to the Factory Council for settlement.

ARTICLE 35. Upon termination of the working contract, the laborers may request the factory to issue them certificates of work. But this stipulation shall not be applicable in cases where the laborers summarily terminate their contract without conforming with the provisions of Article 32, or in cases where the contracts are terminated in accordance with any one of the conditions mentioned in Article 31. The certificates of work shall contain the following particulars:—

- (1) The laborers' name in full, sex, age, native-place and address;
- (2) The kind of work engaged in by the laborer;
- (3) The period of time during which the laborer was employed by the factory and his record.

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Chapter VII

LABORERS' WELFARE

ARTICLE 36. All factories shall provide supplementary education for the child laborers and apprentices, and shall be responsible for all the expenses incurred thereof. Such supplementary education shall not be less than ten hours a week. For other laborers who have no opportunity for education, the factories shall also establish within their means educational facilities. The time for conducting the above-mentioned education shall be arranged outside of the working hours.

ARTICLE 37. Female laborers shall be given leave with full wages before and after child-birth, amounting altogether to eight weeks in duration.

ARTICLE 38. Factories shall within the means of possibility assist the laborers in establishing workers' savings and co-operative societies, etc.

ARTICLE 39. Factories shall within the means of possibility erect workers' houses and promote proper amusements for their laborers.

ARTICLE 40. At the end of each fiscal year, after due appropriations have been made for dividends and reserve funds, the factory shall give those laborers who have no demerits during the year, either a reward or a share of the remaining profits.

Chapter VIII

SAFETY AND SANITATION

ARTICLE 41. All factories shall take the following safety precautions:—

- (1) Safety precautions against risks of personal injury to the laborers;
- (2) Safety precautions regarding the structure of the factory;
- (3) Precautions regarding the proper installation of machines;
- (4) Precautions for the prevention of fire and floods;

ARTICLE 42. All factories shall have the following sanitary provisions:—

- (1) Provisions for good ventilation;
- (2) Provisions for pure drinks;
- (3) Provisions for lavatories and toilet facilities;
- (4) Provisions for light;
- (5) Provisions for poison prevention.

ARTICLE 43. All factories shall give their laborers safety education.

ARTICLE 44. Whenever the safety or sanitary provisions of a factory are found inadequate, the Proper Authorities may require improvement within a definite period of time, and in case of necessity may also forbid the use of any part of the factory.

Chapter IX

LABORERS' COMPENSATION AND PENSIONS

ARTICLE 45. Pending the enforcement of Workers' Insurance Law, the factory shall pay to the laborers who are injured or killed in the performance of their duty all medical expenses and a sum based on the following scale. If,

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however, the capital of the factory is less than fifty thousand dollars, the factory may petition the Proper Authorities to reduce the sums to be paid.

- (1) For laborers temporarily incapacitated, the factory shall, besides bearing the medical expenses, pay them each day a sum amounting to two-thirds of their regular wage for a period of not more than six months. Upon the expiration of this said period, the factory may reduce the amount of compensation to half of the laborers' average wage for a period of not more than one year;
- (2) For workers permanently disabled in the performance of their duty, the factory shall pay a sum commensurate with the extent of the disablement. Such compensation, however, shall under no circumstances exceed three years' regular wages, or be less than one year's wages;
- (3) For laborers killed in the course of their employment, the factory shall, besides paying a sum of fifty dollars as funeral expenses, pay to the legal heirs, a sum of three hundred dollars, plus two years' regular wages. The regular wage mentioned above shall be based upon the laborers' average wage during the last three months of their employment. Funeral expenses and pensions shall be paid at one and the same time, but compensation for injuries or sickness or disablement may be paid at regular intervals.

ARTICLE 46. Pensions provided for in the previous Article shall be paid to the wife or husband of the deceased laborer. Should the deceased leave no wife or husband, the pension, unless otherwise provided in the will of the deceased, shall be paid in accordance with the following order:—

- (1) Children
- (2) Parents
- (3) Grandchildren
- (4) Brothers and sisters

ARTICLE 47. Whenever a laborer urgently needs money on occasions of marriage or death, he may request the factory to advance him a sum not exceeding one month's wages, or the whole or a part of his savings.

ARTICLE 48. Should any accident occur resulting in the death or grave injury to a laborer, the factory shall, within five days, report its occurrence and the consequent measures taken to the Proper Authorities.

Chapter X

FACTORY COUNCIL

ARTICLE 49. The Factory Council shall be composed of an equal number of representatives from both the factory and the laborers.

The factory representatives on the Factory Council shall be selected from those who are familiar with the conditions of the factory and the conditions of the laborers.

The election of laborers' representatives shall be reported to and supervised by the representatives of the Proper Authorities.

ARTICLE 50. The duties of the Factory Council shall be as follows:—

- (1) To study the improvement of working efficiency;
- (2) To improve the relations between the factory and the laborers, and to settle disputes between them;
- (3) To cooperate in carrying out the collective agreement, the working contract and the regulations of the factory;

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- (4) To cooperate in discussing methods of extending the working day;
- (5) To improve the safety and sanitary conditions of the factory;
- (6) To submit proposals for the improvement of factory conditions;
- (7) To plan welfare enterprises for the laborers.

ARTICLE 51. Matters referred to in the previous Article and concerning one workshop only shall first be referred to the representatives of the workshop in question and the factory for settlement.

Should the representatives fail to effect a solution or should the matter concern two or more workshops, then the dispute shall be submitted to the Factory Council for settlement. Should the Council fail to effect a solution, then the dispute shall be settled in accordance with the Law for the Settlement of Disputes Between Capital and Labor.

ARTICLE 52. Laborers above sixteen years of age shall have the right to vote for the laborers' representatives on the Factory Council.

ARTICLE 53. Laborers who are of Chinese nationality, above twenty years of age and have worked in the factory for more than six months shall have the right to be elected as laborers' representatives.

ARTICLE 54. The number of representatives for either the factory or the laborers shall be limited to from three to nine.

ARTICLE 55. The chairman of the Factory Council shall be elected alternatively by the factory representatives and the laborers' representatives. The Factory Council shall have one regular meeting each month, but in case of necessity may call special meetings. The quorum of the Factory meetings shall consist of a majority of the total representatives elected by the laborers and by the factory, and the decisions of the Factory Council shall become effective on a vote of two-thirds of the members present.

Chapter XI

APPRENTICES

ARTICLE 56. Factories taking apprentices shall first conclude contracts with them or their legal representatives. The contract shall be made in triplicate, one copy for each of the contracting parties and one to be submitted to the Proper Authorities for registration. The contract shall contain the following articles:--

- (1) The name, sex, age, native-place and address of the apprentice;
- (2) The kind of trade the apprentice is to follow;
- (3) The date on which the contract is made and its duration;
- (4) Mutual obligations. Should the apprentice be required to pay tuition, the amount and time for payment shall be stipulated. Where the contract of apprenticeship provides remuneration for the apprentice's service, the amount and time of payment shall likewise be stipulated. The above contract shall not restrict the apprentice's freedom to work upon the expiration of the apprenticeship.

ARTICLE 57. Neither male nor female persons below the age of thirteen shall be engaged as apprentices, excepting those who were already engaged as apprentices prior to the enforcement of this Law.

ARTICLE 58. The hours of training for apprentices shall be governed by the provisions of Chapter III of this Law.

ARTICLE 59. Except for purposes of practice, apprentices shall not be engaged in any of the occupations enumerated in Article 7.

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ARTICLE 60. Apprentices shall be diligent, obedient and loyal towards the officers and masters of the factory.

ARTICLE 61. During the whole term of apprenticeship, the apprentices shall be supplied with board, lodging and medical care by the factory, in addition to a proper allowance for incidentals each month. The amount of this allowance shall be fixed by the Proper Authorities in accordance with the economic conditions of the locality and the standing of the factory, and with the approval of the Ministry of Industry.

ARTICLE 62. Except in cases of great necessity, no apprentices shall leave the factory during the period of apprenticeship; otherwise the apprentice or his legal representative shall refund the board, lodging and medical expenses incurred by the factory during the period of apprenticeship already served.

ARTICLE 63. The total number of apprentices taken by a factory shall not exceed one-third of its regular workers.

ARTICLE 64. Should a factory take more apprentices than it can adequately train, the Proper Authorities may order a partial reduction, and also set a limit to the number of apprentices the factory may thereafter take.

ARTICLE 65. During the period of apprenticeship the factory shall to the best of its ability train the apprentices for the trade specified in the contract of apprenticeship.

ARTICLE 66. In addition to the provisions of Article 31, the factory may terminate the contract of apprenticeship under any one of the following conditions:—

- (1) When the apprentice revolts against proper instructions;
- (2) When the apprentice commits theft and fails to repent, in spite of repeated admonitions.

ARTICLE 67. In addition to the provisions of Article 33, the apprentice or his legal representative may terminate the contract of apprenticeship under any one of the following conditions:—

- (1) When the factory is incapable of performing its obligations stipulated in the contract;
- (2) When a factory becomes dangerous to the life and health of the apprentice or harmful to his character.

Chapter XII

PENALTIES

ARTICLE 68. Factories, violating the provisions of Article 7, 11, 12 and 13, shall be fined a sum of not less than one hundred and not more than five hundred dollars for each offence.

ARTICLE 69. Factories, violating the provisions of Articles 5, 8, 9, 10, 37 and 63, shall be fined a sum of not less than fifty and not more than three hundred dollars for each offence.

ARTICLE 70. Factories, violating the provisions of Article 45, shall be fined a sum of not less than fifty and not more than two hundred dollars for each offence.

ARTICLE 71. Factories, violating the provisions of Articles 3, 4, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 36, shall be fined a sum of not more than one hundred dollars for each offence.

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ARTICLE 72. When a factory foreman, due to disloyal conduct or negligence, causes thereby an accident or the extension thereof, he shall be punished with imprisonment for a period of not more than one year, or with a fine of not more than five hundred dollars.

ARTICLE 73. Any laborer who obstructs the operation of the factory or destroys the goods or equipment of the factory by violence, shall be punished in accordance with Law.

ARTICLE 74. A laborer who by duress compels other workers to strike, shall be dealt with in accordance with Law.

Chapter XIII

ADDENDA

ARTICLE 75. The compilation or alteration of factory regulations shall be submitted to the Proper Authorities for approval and promulgation.

ARTICLE 76. Regulations for the enforcement of this Law shall be issued separately.

ARTICLE 77. This Law shall come into force on and from the day of promulgation.

Select Bibliography

Archives:

The present work draws heavily on typescript reports, correspondence, and ephemeral printed matter in archives in Geneva, New York, and London. Most useful were:

- The archives of the World's YWCA, Geneva
- The archives of the library at the World's YMCA, Geneva
- The archives of the World Council of Churches, Geneva
- The archives of the International Labour Office, Geneva
- The archives of the library at the National Headquarters, YWCA of the United States, New York
- The archives of the YMCA Historical Library, New York
- The archives of the library at the Friends' Meeting House, London
- The private papers of J. B. Tayler, in the possession of Mrs. Hilda Brown, London

Also consulted were the archives of the Public Record Office, the Foreign Office Library, and the Conference of British Missionary Societies in London, and of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce.

In each case, archive material was principally sought which had a direct bearing on the Christian industrial welfare movement in China, or the functioning of supporting agencies such as the International Labour Office or the Shanghai Municipal Council's Industrial Section. The items which follow were found to be of particular value. It should be noted that the letters which precede the file or box titles for material from the archives of the YWCA Geneva, the YWCA New York, and the YMCA New York have been assigned arbitrarily, and serve only to identify material to which reference has been made in the footnotes. This expedient has been adopted because it was felt that the existing designations employed for items from these archives were too cumbersome to bear extensive repetition. Material from other archives has been identified in the footnotes by the file or box number normally employed for it.

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- A. 1920-22 China, Reports, Box 3/68
- B. 1923-26 China, Minutes and Reports, box 3/160
- C. China 1926-29, Correspondence, Minutes, Reports, etc., box 3/162

- D. China 1926-29, Correspondence, Minutes, Reports, etc.,
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- E. China 1928-21, Minutes and Reports, box 3/69
- F. China Correspondence, 1922-23, box 3/70
- G. China 1923-26, Correspondence, box 3/159
- H. China 1923-26, Minutes, Reports, box 3/161
- J. 1930-32 Finance, box 11/15
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- N. Asia: China, India 1936-37, box N/177
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- P. Asia: China, India, 1938-39, box 11/148
- Q. Asia: Reports, 1938-29, box 11/167
- R. China, India, 1940-41-42, box 11/78
- S. 1940-41-42 China, Minutes and Reports, box 11/103
- T. China Reports, India Reports and Minutes, Japan Reports
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- W. 1926-27 Bible study, Training, Conferences, Preparation
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- Box X358.3 China; National Committee
- Box X314.119 Industrial Work
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In particular, the archives of the International Missionary Council:

- Box 21 Jerusalem Conference, 1928
- Box 24 Jerusalem, 1928
- Box 42 Committees, Tambaram
- Box 114 Industrial and Social Questions, China; NCC
- Box 368 China Continuation Committee, 1913-1919,
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- Box 369 China Continuation Committee, NCC Conference
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- Box 370 China Correspondence, NCC; Lobenstine, Hodgkin, etc.
- Box 371 China, NCC Minutes, etc.
- Box 374 China, Christian Literature 1928-22; Information about China 1925-28, NCC Bulletin, 1922-30

Also archives of the International Missionary Council's Research Department, classified separately:

- Box RD. 1 China: Canton, Foochow and Fukien, Nanking, Peiping, Shanghai, YMCA Shanghai, misc. cities
- Box RD 2 China General ; China in War; NCC of China; Hangchow (eventually Tambaram) - suggested topics for study, etc.
- Box RD. 3 China : Conference on the People's Livelihood; Co-operatives and Small Industries; Report on Visit to South China by J. W. Decker
- Box RD. 15 Industrial Schools
- Box RD. 16 Labour and Industry
- Box RD. 23 Department of Industrial and Social Research, 1929-36
- Box RD. 24 Correspondence on Industrial Questions

- Box W Pamphlets, China
- Box X Pamphlets, China
- Box Y Pamphlets, China

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The files of the ILO are variously designated in English or French, usually depending on their contents; some have no adequate designation other than their dossier number, and in these cases a brief indication of their contents has been supplied below.

- G/900/28/1 Voyage de M. Pierre Henry en Chine
- G/900/28/2 2ième Mission de M. Henry
- G/900/29/2 William Caldwell's Mission, 1927
- RL/13/5/1 Relations with Mr. Jackson, 1925
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- RL/13/3/1 Relations with Hsueh Fan-tu, 1936-40
- C/1802/1 China correspondent, general correspondence 1930-35

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- A. Box X951.01 China Reports; China Yearbooks
- B. Box X951.03 China, Laborers in France

Extensive use was made of material filed under the designation X951.09 China, World Service (Restricted), among which the following boxes yielded much relevant information.

- R. 1 1920-21
- R. 2 Jan. -March, 1920
- R. 3 Oct. 1920 - March 1921
- R. 4 Sept. 1921-April 1922
- R. 5 April-June, 1921
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- R. 8 May - Dec., 1923
- R. 9 1922-24
- R. 10 Jan. - Sept., 1924
- R. 11 Oct. - Dec., 1924
- R. 12 April - July, 1925
- R. 13 Aug. - Dec., 1925
- R. 14 1925-26
- R. 15 May-Dec., 1926
- R. 16 Jan.-April, 1926 ; Jan. - March 1927
- R. 17 April - June, 1927
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- R. 19 March - Dec., 1928
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- R. 21 Jan. - April, 1929
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- R. 25 Jan. - April, 1930
- R. 26 May-Sept., 1930
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